



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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FBIS-AFR-92-225

CONTENTS

20 November 1992

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

CENTRAL AFRICA

Chad

| | |
|--|---|
| Opposition Parties Form Alliance [Libreville Radio] | 2 |
| Union Official on Government Spending [London International] | 2 |

Rwanda

| | |
|---|---|
| Parties Demonstrate in Kigali, 12 Injured [Kigali Radio] | 2 |
| Further on Kigali Demonstrations, 50 Injured [Kigali Radio] | 3 |

EAST AFRICA

Kenya

| | |
|---|---|
| President Moi Meets Foreign Delegations | 4 |
| U.S. Delegation; Comments on Refugee Assistance [Nairobi Radio] | 4 |
| UN Envoy to Somalia [Nairobi Radio] | 4 |
| Opposition Parties List Electoral Demands [KNA] | 5 |

Uganda

| | |
|--|---|
| Museveni Returns From Tanzania, Comments [Kampala Radio] | 5 |
| 'At Least 150' Zairians Flee to Uganda [Kampala Radio] | 6 |

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

| | |
|--|----|
| Minister Declares Nylstroom Unrest Area [SAPA] | 7 |
| Mandela, Volksunie Leader Meet, Discuss Regionalism | 7 |
| Volksunie on 'Self-Determination' [SAPA] | 7 |
| Minister Denies Army 'Wild,' 'Uncontrolled' [SAPA] | 7 |
| Security Chiefs Summoned by Cabinet Subcommittee [THE STAR 19 Nov] | 7 |
| Police Relate Plan To Protect Train Commuters [SAPA] | 8 |
| Canadian Minister Talks With Buthelezi [SAPA] | 8 |
| Slovo Defends 'Sunset Clause' [SOWETAN 19 Nov] | 9 |
| Deputy Minister on 'Changing Priorities' [PARATUS Nov] | 9 |
| New Navy Chief on Future of Navy, Economy [PARATUS Nov] | 10 |
| 20 November Review of Current Events, Issues [THE STAR 20 Nov, etc.] | 13 |

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

| | |
|--|----|
| Savimbi Accepts Legislative Election Results | 15 |
| UN Confirmation [London International] | 15 |
| Government Sees Letter as 'Positive Step' [Luanda Radio] | 15 |
| Preparations Begin for 21 Nov Multiparty Conference | 15 |
| UNITA Ready [Maputo Radio] | 15 |
| Council of Ministers Prepares [Luanda Radio] | 16 |

| | |
|---|----|
| Political, Military Situation 'Not Improved' [Luanda Radio] | 16 |
|---|----|

Mozambique

| | |
|---|----|
| Cease-Fire Commission Meets 18 Nov [Maputo Radio] | 16 |
|---|----|

Namibia

| | |
|---|----|
| Malaysia Inks Economic, Science Agreement [SAPA] | 17 |
| * Rising Crime, Increasing Violence Observed [BEELD 30 Sep] | 17 |

WEST AFRICA

Liberia

| | |
|--|----|
| UN To Impose Arms Embargo on Warring Factions [Monrovia Radio] | 20 |
| Gbarnga Charges U.S. 'Veterans' With ECOMOG [Gbarnga Radio] | 20 |
| Foreign Minister on UN Involvement [London International] | 20 |
| NPFL To Give Clearance to UN Relief Planes [Gbarnga Radio] | 21 |
| Citizen's Committee Airs Views on U.S. Policy [Gbarnga Radio] | 21 |
| U.S. Backing of UN Observers Proposal Urged [Gbarnga Radio] | 21 |

Nigeria

| | |
|--|----|
| President Babangida Address 17 Nov | 21 |
|--|----|

Sierra Leone

| | |
|--|----|
| Foday Sankoh Claims Rebels Bombed by ECOMOG [London International] | 28 |
|--|----|

Togo

| | |
|---|----|
| Koffigoh on Appointment of Judges [Lome Radio] | 28 |
| Report on Status of Strike 19 Nov [Lome Radio] | 29 |
| Ministers Note Resumption of Economic Activity [Lome Radio] | 29 |

Angola

In a letter to UN representative Marrack Goulding, UNITA has accepted the results of the legislative elections held in September, however, the organization refers to the elections as "admittedly fraudulent and irregular," according to Maputo Radio. Luanda Radio reports that the Angolan Government sees the letter as "positive step toward peace". Savimbi has agreed to take part in multiparty conference slated to begin 21 November.

Liberia

The UN Security Council has voted to impose an arms embargo on the warring factions, Monrovia Radio reported. Reacting to the imposition of the embargo, Foreign Minister Bacchus Matthews said that it would "significantly contribute to the prospects for peace".

Gbarnga Radio reported that a "superpower is assisting the intervention force with not only weapons but also with trained men". The report claims that U.S. veterans are fighting alongside ECOMOG troops and that newsmen had been shown badges that "proved" such involvement in the "Liberian civil crisis".

South Africa

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel declared several magisterial districts in northern Transvaal unrest areas, following rightwing threats to disrupt a "legal" ANC march in Nylstroom on 21 November, SAPA reported. The Afrikaner Resistance Movement warned of a possible "bloodbath" if the ANC were allowed to hold the march.

Chad**Opposition Parties Form Alliance**

*AB2011094492 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1230 GMT 16 Nov 92*

[Text] The opposition in Chad has closed ranks as the national conference draws near. Fifteen political parties have formed an alliance known as the Forum for Democratic Change. First objective: To facilitate the holding of that conference as of 15 January next year.

Still on Chad, it is worth noting that the southern rebel leader, Lieutenant Moise Kete, has been in Ndjamenas for nearly two weeks. He has already been received on two occasions by President Iddris Deby under the agreement signed in June between the government and the National Awakening Council for Peace and Democracy [CNSPD]. Does Moise Kete's return to Ndjamenas signal an end to the war in the south? The man concerned answers in an interview with Rene Dilayo Birim.

[Begin recording] [Kete] You are quite aware that we signed a peace accord with the government, and it is under that agreement that we are currently in Ndjamenas. Consequently, we have met with top state executives, including the prime minister and the head of state, with whom we tried to examine how best certain means could be put at our disposal—particularly means of transportation—to enable us to finalize this protocol agreement.

You know as much as we do that there has been too much bloodshed in this country, and that there was the need to act in a manner that would ensure the reign of peace, that [word indistinct] reign, so that the people can go about their normal business. So, this is what necessitated our trip to Ndjamenas, and we believe that the will to make peace should come from both parties. As far as the CNSPD is concerned, there are no clouds in the sky, and we believe it is up to the government to demonstrate the same will so that genuine and lasting peace may return to our country.

[Birim] Do you fear that there could be renewed violence in the south?

[Kete] Well, at this very moment we are somewhat concerned because according to reports, Chadian National Forces reinforcements going on in the south, particularly Republican Guard units at Doba, Moundou, and (?Gobouto), and this is disturbing to us since there is no longer any threat in the south. [end recording]

Union Official on Government Spending

*AB1911153992 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 18 Nov 92*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Something of a rapprochement is presently going on in Chad between Idriss Deby's government and the trade union, UST. The government has lifted the ban it

imposed on the UST, and the UST has told its striking workers to go back to their jobs after a long series of one-day strikes against the government's economic policy and the banning of the UST. On the line to Ndjamenas, Florin Westfile asked Adoum Montaga if the UST members had returned to work.

[Begin recording] [Montaga] Yes, we asked them to come back to work today. But some of them, since the government has put sanctions on them, so they just stay at home.

[Westfile] And have you discussed this problem with the government?

[Montaga] We are discussing the point with the government, but we are waiting for the point of view of the president since he traveled to Sudan and came early yesterday afternoon. But we discussed the point with the minister in charge of education who represents the government and he said that the sanctions can be postponed, but maybe in three or four days so, we are waiting for that.

[Westfile] This strike has been mainly about salary arrears; have those salary arrears actually been paid to your members?

[Montaga] Not really, but the point is that we are discussing this. And for the moment, we have contacts; we have the French Embassy and they said that they can help the government to pay these salaries, so we are waiting for that also.

[Westfile] Do you not think that you are acting a bit irresponsibly, anyway, in calling these strikes all the time? I mean Chad's economic situation at the moment is anything but rosy. Don't you think you should cooperate with the government?

[Montaga] We (?accept) to cooperate with the government but since the government did not pay the salary of the workers and the economic situation is really not well, we think that we have to (?make) the government more responsible for the management of the welfare of the country. They waste money on the defense expenditure so we think that that is not a good way of managing of country. That is why we went on a strike, because some of us have stayed for five or six months without salary. [end recording]

Rwanda**Parties Demonstrate in Kigali, 12 Injured**

*EA1911171292 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT 19
Nov 92*

[Text] [Announcer] The Republican Democratic Party, Liberal Party, Social Democratic Party and Christian Democratic Party demonstrated in Kigali this morning in support of the Arusha negotiations and against the

atmosphere of insecurity in the country. We have on the phone the prefect of Kigali to give an account of the demonstrations:

[Prefect] A few demonstrators assembled at about 0700 to be joined by others as time went by. The demonstrations, however, had a bad start, as clashes with truly neutral people—people on their way to work or going about their daily business—occurred. We are informed that some people have been roughed up and even wounded or robbed. I have, of course, sent [security] forces to the sites of such incidents to protect people. I also have to say that in a few places, the demonstrators threw stones at government buildings, notably around the headquarters of the Roads Department. We are also informed that [words indistinct] transporting school children and that [words indistinct] was slightly injured on his way to work. [Words indistinct] clashes. I really feel there were more hooligans there than demonstrators. There were people absolutely intent on attacking others and property.

[Announcer] So, the demos were not peaceful as had been expected.

[Prefect] [Words indistinct] they were not.

[Announcer] At about (?1030) gunfire was reportedly heard around Niakamanda and Gisega.

[Prefect] [Words indistinct] if you heard shots, those were tear gas we had to fire to discourage a group of young demonstrators from attacking private houses [passage indistinct].

[Announcer] The demonstrations are still continuing with the people now gathering at Niamirambo Stadium. What message would you address [words indistinct] this afternoon?

[Prefect] [Passage indistinct].

[The opening and closing headlines specified that 12 persons had been injured during the demonstrations].

Further on Kigali Demonstrations, 50 Injured

EA2011111692 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 19 Nov 92

[Excerpts] While a Council of Ministers' meeting was in progress at the Hotel du Cinq Juillet in Kigali, the Republican Democratic Movement [MDR], Social Democratic Party [PSD], Christian Democratic Party

[PDC], and Liberal Party [PL]—the four partners of the Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development [MRND] within the current government—held demonstrations in Kigali. The demonstrations started at the roundabout [not specified] and ended at (Nyamirambo). Here is a report by [name indistinct]:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] The demonstrators condemned what they called President Habyarimana's dictatorial regime. They also accused the MRND and the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic parties of not supporting the Arusha negotiations and of preaching division.

Touching on the problems of the day at a meeting at the end of the demonstrations, senior officials of the four parties reiterated their unfailing support for the Arusha negotiations and for Mr. Boniface Ngulinzira, leader of the Rwandan Government delegation at the talks.

For the four parties, a national conference remains the inevitable path to reach democracy and national reconciliation. The MDR, PL, PSD, and PDC officials also said unanimously that the time was not yet ripe to organize elections in Rwanda. They believe that the current mood of insecurity and the existence of an administrative apparatus emanating from a single party regime were both factors that would only ensure that rigging would prevail in any elections.

The president of the Movement of Women and the Lower Classes for Peace, and the first national secretary of the Rwandan Socialist Party also joined the demonstrators. The Rwandan People's Democratic Union party sent a message of support to the four parties—the MDR, PL, PSD, and PDC.

However, the demonstrations resulted in a few places in looting, vandalism, and violence. At Kigali Hospital, the staff was very busy this afternoon with about 50 injured people, as Dr. Marcel Manji told us. Many people have thus been injured.

Even the media did not receive a very warm welcome. It is worth noting that the media got their share of injured people in the acts of violence. Our colleague [word indistinct] Kahiranga was seriously injured in the head. He was present at the demos and was attacked wantonly. The injured also included Gabriel Nizamurinda of the television project, and our colleague of the English service, Manasse Mugana of Radio Rwanda, who was hurt during a sway in the crowd caused by the teargas used by the police against the demonstrators at Nyamirambo. Manasse was hurt in the movement of the crowd which resulted from the use of teargas. [passage omitted]

Kenya**President Moi Meets Foreign Delegations****U.S. Delegation; Comments on Refugee Assistance**

*EA1911110792 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
Network in English 1000 GMT 18 Nov 92*

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today thanked all those who had assisted towards alleviation of problems facing Somali, Sudanese, and Ethiopian refugees. President Moi noted that the Kenya Government had done its utmost to feed the refugees and also provide other social amenities long before the international community became aware of their plight. The president was speaking at State House, Nairobi, where he held talks with the visiting U.S. congressional delegation to Kenya led by Atlanta Democrat Mr. John Lewis. The delegation is currently visiting Kenya and other African countries to assess the ongoing humanitarian relief effort to Somalia.

President Moi thanked the United States for providing relief assistance to the starving Somali, Sudanese, and Ethiopian refugees. He noted that contrary to the hostile coverage by foreign media, Kenya was peaceful, adding that political stability had enabled the country to attain remarkable development.

President Moi told the delegation that the government was doing everything to ensure success of the forthcoming multiparty general election. He added that in order to attain this objective, the government had invited observers from friendly countries and organizations. The president, however, told the observers not to be partisan during the election process and to let Kenyans shape the destiny of their country.

President Moi asked the delegation to extend his best wishes and those of Kenyans to the U.S. President-elect, Bill Clinton. The head of state noted that over the years Kenya and the U.S. had enjoyed very strong relations. He said Kenya would continue working for even stronger relations with the U.S. for the benefit of the people of the two countries. [passage omitted]

UN Envoy to Somalia

*EA1911163892 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
Network in English 1000 GMT 19 Nov 92*

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today reaffirmed Kenya's adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. And, specifically on Somalia, President Moi said Kenya was keen on seeing the restoration of security and social order but did not support any faction in that strife-torn country.

President Moi was speaking at State House, Nairobi, where he held talks with the UN secretary general's special representative for Somalia, Ambassador Ismat Kittani. Ambassador Ismat Kittani replaced Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun, who resigned recently.

President Moi observed that the problems facing Africa are so subtle that it is difficult for them to be understood by the Western world unless there is special interest and analysis. He said such analysis should be from an anthropological point of view and gave the example of Somalia where problems are compounded by ethnic, clan, and sub-clan rivalries. President Moi informed Ambassador Kittani and his delegation that Kenya valued the sanctity of human lives and despite her economic difficulties moved in with humanitarian aid to Somalia, Ethiopia, and Sudan.

The president noted that problems in those neighboring countries had put pressure on the Kenyan economy. He noted that Kenya's emergency food and other social amenities to refugees from neighboring countries were unforeseen and hence unbudgeted for. President Moi noted moreover that the conflict in the neighboring countries had forced Kenya to beef up her security along the borders. He said such security enforcement was a major task, citing the Kenya-Somalia border which covers over 800 km.

President Moi further observed that security was crucial since some of those running away to seek refuge were criminal elements who rob and killed. The president therefore called on donor countries and agencies to consider this difficult task and Kenya's efforts to assist in the situation before imposing unrealistic conditions regarding aid to our country.

The president further pointed out that Kenya had been adversely affected by drought, which hit 24 districts resulting in crop failure. He however thanked the UN for assisting humanitarian agencies and countries to ferry food and other supplies to Somalia.

Ambassador Kittani agreed with President Moi that problems in Somalia were complex since the political and economic infrastructure had been shattered. He told President Moi that Somalia had no security, no police, no army, and no social order. He pointed out that lack of a functional government gave rise to anarchy. Ambassador Kittani said that was the reason why the UN deployed troops to facilitate delivery of humanitarian aid.

He thanked President Moi and the Kenya Government for their magnanimity in giving support to the UN in the difficult task of humanitarian work in Somalia. He further agreed with President Moi that unless the warring factions meet to discuss the problems in their country Somalia's identity would be difficult to restore. [passage omitted]

[Paris AFP in English at 1605 GMT on 19 November in a Nairobi- datelined item reports that a UN-sponsored

Somali conference will be held "next month at which all the country's warring factions 'will meet face to face,' UN special envoy Ismat Kittani said Thursday.

["The conference, to be held in Ethiopia's capital Addis Ababa on December 3 and 4, will be 'purely humanitarian,' but will have wider significance as faction leaders will 'meet face to face with the generous donors, agencies and non-governmental agencies,' Kittani told a news conference here."

[Furthermore, "Kittani said the UN had to avoid becoming embroiled in Somalia's complex clan-based disputes. 'It would be very bad for us to intervene in their internal squabbling,' he said. 'The U.N. is not there to tell the Somalis what to do.'"]

Opposition Parties List Electoral Demands

EA1911140592 Nairobi KNA in English 1645 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Nairobi, 18 Nov (KNA)—A consultative meeting of opposition parties today have issued several demands to KANU [Kenya African National Union] government and the Electoral Commission if fair and free elections are to be held. A 13-point statement was read to the newsmen by the chairman of the inter-parties consultative meeting, Mr George Muhoho, after a day's meeting at the Intercontinental Hotel. Among the demands was an inter-party meeting with the commission tomorrow at 2.30 pm chaired by the chairman of the commission. The parties which attended the meeting were FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Kenya, DP [Democratic Party], KENDA [Kenya National Democratic Alliance] and Labour Party Democracy. These are some of the demands:

1. The [words indistinct] violence in all its forms and any source such as security personnel, individuals, political parties, organised group or any other agencies and extensions of any organisation prior to during and after the general elections.

[Second item not received]

3. They called upon the government to honour its responsibility by providing personal security to all party nominated presidential candidates.

4. They expressed confidence in the competence, integrity, and sense of judgment of the security and armed forces and would like to assure them of their commitment to professionalism and continuity of institutions in the transition of democracy.

5. For the elections to be free, fair, and devoid of violence and ugly incidences, it is important that all political parties adhere to a code of conduct as was the case in the elections recently held in Ghana.

6. Strict compliance to electoral laws and procedures, and no misuse of the public service and utilities for partisan political ends.

7. They demanded that the electoral commission enforce its independence in managing the electoral process.

8. Timetable of events leading to and succeeding the day of election, the appointment of returning officers, their deputies and clerks, the location of polling stations, voting procedure, the counting of votes, and the announcement of results be agreed on by all political parties, candidates and their agents.

9. It is important that the [ballot] boxes be serialised [words indistinct] security [word indistinct] proof. The alleged continued registration of voters and destruction of voters' cards should also be stopped, and that the tampering with the voters [register] must cease forthwith and a final register acceptable to all political parties be compiled by 12 December 1992 so as to make the participation in the election worthwhile.

10. They demanded that the government desists from any attempt to control or interfere with the monitoring process.

11. They demanded equal media access and treatment for all political parties, in this regard, we demand specifically that the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation [KBC] and the Kenya Times Media Trust [publishers of the KANU newspapers "KENYA TIMES" and "SUNDAY TIMES"], including Kenya Television Network (KTN), desist from discriminating against opposition political parties.

12. The national flag must not be used at KANU functions. "KANU Yajenga Nchi" [KANU builds the nation] must not be played as a signature tune on the KBC ["KANU Yajenga Nchi" is played as a signature tune before all major news bulletins on KBC radio].

13. In the event that inadequate attention and response is given to the issues we have raised, there is no doubt in our minds that the forthcoming elections will be farcical and will not earn the legitimacy of a free and fair elections.

Uganda

Museveni Returns From Tanzania, Comments

EA1911144492 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1700 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni has returned home from Dar es Salaam where he held talks with President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania on bilateral and African relations.

A press release issued by the government on the president's return says during Mr. Museveni's short visit to Tanzania the Ugandan leader and president Mwinyi briefed each other on political and economic changes taking place in their respective countries. They also reviewed bilateral relations between Uganda and Tanzania with a view to strengthening them. They further

reviewed the current political changes sweeping through the African continent with the introduction of multipartyism and democratisation process.

On sub-regional matters, the two leaders underscored the urgent need for peaceful resolution of the numerous conflicts that are taking place at the moment in order to create an appropriate environment for lasting peace and stability as well as for faster socioeconomic development. To that effect, the two presidents discussed at length the current efforts being deployed to bring about peace and stability in Rwanda. They commended the efforts of both parties to the conflict to reach a negotiated settlement. President Yoweri Museveni commended President Ali Hassan Mwinyi for his untiring efforts as a facilitator in the Rwanda peace talks.

President Yoweri Museveni thanked President Ali Hassan Mwinyi for the warm reception and traditional African hospitality extended to him and his delegation

during their brief visit in Tanzania. President Yoweri Museveni invited President Ali Hassan Mwinyi to pay a similar visit to Uganda. The invitation was accepted and the date of the visit will be arranged through normal diplomatic channels. [passage omitted]

'At Least 150' Zairians Flee to Uganda

*EA1911062692 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1000 GMT 18 Nov 92*

[Excerpt] At least 150 Zairians have taken refuge in Bundibugyo [in western Uganda, near the Zairian border] following the fresh sporadic clashes between Zairian government troops and rebel forces in Baomo and Mutwanga sub-counties neighboring Uganda. According to a representative of the UNHCR, [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] Dr. Pirlot, arrangements are under way to transfer the refugees to Kyaka to join their colleagues. [passage omitted]

Minister Declares Nylstroom Unrest Area

MB2011133792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1323 GMT 20 Nov 92

[Text] Pretoria Nov 20 SAPA—Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on Friday [20 November] declared several magisterial districts in northern Transvaal as unrest areas. This follows rightwing threats to disrupt a legal African National Congress march in Nylstroom on Saturday. The areas that have been declared unrest areas include Nylstroom, Ellisras, Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, including Naboomspruit, Thabazimbi and Warmbaths.

Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze confirmed the march was legal and called on all parties to refrain from taking actions and making "war talk" which could be interpreted as being provocative. He said the SAP [South African Police] had consulted the National Peace Secretariat on the issue and had called in the services of United Nations monitors. Additional manpower and air support have also been called in. The SAP would do everything in its power to maintain peace and to protect everybody's democratic rights. Capt Kotze said the situation placed a special responsibility on political leaders and required their cooperation to prevent any possible outbreak of violence.

Earlier this week the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] warned there "might be a bloodbath" if the ANC was permitted to proceed with its march in the northern Transvaal town. The AWB said it would "not be able to control farmers' simmering opposition to the march".

Mandela, Volksunie Leader Meet, Discuss Regionalism

Volksunie on 'Self-Determination'

MB1911160592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1421 GMT 19 Nov 92

[Text]Johannesburg Nov 19 SAPA—In an historic meeting on Thursday [19 November] the Afrikaner Volk-sunie [AVU] presented its ideal of self-determination to the African National Congress [ANC], and listened in turn to the organisation's stand on regionalism. ANC President Nelson Mandela left the meeting early but said the presentation by AVU leader Andries Beyers had been "very frank". In stressing the principal of self-determination, Mr. Mandela said Mr. Beyers had made it clear he was not speaking on behalf of all white South Africans, but for the Afrikaner. Mr. Beyers had suggested that an ANC/AVU committee be established "to look into areas of common interest". "I promised him I would take this [idea] to the (ANC) National Working Committee," Mr. Mandela said. The meeting was held at the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg.

Minister Denies Army 'Wild,' 'Uncontrolled'

MB1911134792 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1314
GMT 19 Nov 92

[Text] George Nov 19 SAPA—The Defence Ministry and the Army's top structure are giving their attention to the "loose allegations and accusations" that MI [Military Intelligence] planned to undermine Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; African National Congress military wing], Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach said on Thursday [19 November].

His comment follows the Goldstone Commission's seizure of five files documenting a proposal by Military Intelligence employee Ferdi Barnard to subvert Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) by linking it to criminal acts.

Speaking at a parade at the SA Army Woman's College at George, Mr. Breytenbach also said the Army as a whole was not a "wild, uncontrolled organisation", but one which would eventually stand between order and anarchy. If there were elements in the Army who did not abide by the rules, committed irregularities or were guilty of misconduct, "action would obviously have to be taken". But the untested accusations from the political left and rightwing which were "unnecessary and disrupting" could not continue endlessly as the Army did not deserve it. The country had the necessary instruments to deal with allegations, charges and accusations, and he trusted that the accusations would cease to maintain perspective and balance.

Mr. Breytenbach further said the government maintained that MK should disband. There was no talk of incorporating unprofessional and para-military organisations into the SADF [South African Defense Force]. "Any democratic country can have only one defence force and in South Africa that is the SADF.

"Control of the Defence Force can only be according to the Constitution.

"Any claims to unconstitutional control are unacceptable. No other para-military force or private army can therefore exist next to the SADF."

Meanwhile, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported Mr. Breytenbach unveiled a statue at the college which symbolised the willingness of women in uniform to render service, determination, hope and discipline. The statue of a saluting woman in uniform was sculpted by Phil Minnaar.

Security Chiefs Summoned by Cabinet Subcommittee

MB1911150292 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
19 Nov 92 ? 1

[Report by Esther Waugh and political staff]

[Excerpt] South Africa's three top security chiefs were yesterday summoned by the Cabinet's security sub-committee to discuss the Government's response to the

Goldstone revelations. SADF [South African Defence Force] chief General Kat Liebenberg, SAP [South African Police] Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe and National Intelligence Service director Mike Louw met the subcommittee in the wake of revelations about a secret Military Intelligence (MI) unit aimed at discrediting the ANC [African National Congress].

The Star understands that the clandestine "Directorate for Covert Collections" (DCC)—whose existence was revealed in documents seized when Goldstone investigators raided an MI operational centre—was under discussion. One proposal was that it be disbanded.

At the time of going to press, no statement had yet been released by President de Klerk. The security subcommittee met before and after yesterday's meeting of the full Cabinet—which wound up its business just after 7 p.m. The Cabinet security subcommittee includes Defence Minister Gene Louw and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. A spokesman for the State President would only say last night that the Cabinet had given "thorough attention" to the revelations.

The Goldstone revelations are causing consternation in State circles, with military and police sources in particular making little secret of their anger at what they describe as the judge's "political" intervention. They would like to see Mr Justice Goldstone's powers curtailed, rather than dramatically increased as the judge has requested.

The Star understands that non-security factions in the Government are concerned that if the "hawks" get their way, the Goldstone Commission might be alienated—and the De Klerk administration would suffer the worst blow to its credibility yet.

Minister Louw has still to release an "explanatory" document setting out his reasons for this week declaring himself in "serious dispute" with several of Mr Justice Goldstone's statements. The SAP's Van der Merwe has also lashed out at the commission for going public with its findings without first consulting the SAP. The SADF, for its part, has steadfastly refused to draw back the veil of secrecy on the clandestine DCC. The DCC was allegedly responsible for recommending the employment of convicted double-murderer and former Civil Cooperation Bureau agent Ferdi Barnard to run a secret anti-ANC task force. [passage omitted]

Police Relate Plan To Protect Train Commuters

MB2011072492 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0703 GMT 20 Nov 92

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 20 SAPA—More than 500 policemen will be deployed on commuter trains on the Reef from Friday, Witwatersrand South African Police [SAP] spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn said. Outlining a new strategy to protect commuters to the media at New Canada Station between Soweto and Johannesburg, Col Halgryn said the SAP, the Defence Force, the South

African Rail and Commuter Corporation and Spoornet [Railnet] would participate to curb violence on trains.

Main points of the strategy are:

- police to be redeployed;
- increased police visibility on trains and platforms;
- commuters to be searched on entering and leaving railway stations and trains;
- trains to be stopped and searched at random; and
- video cameras to be installed at stations to monitor troublemakers.

Col Halgryn said the strategy would continue even after the festive season.

Canadian Minister Talks With Buthelezi

MB1711155692 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1342 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 17 SAPA—The West appears more eager to end apartheid than to establish a multi-party democracy, Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Barbara McDougall in Ottawa on Tuesday [17 November]. "Diplomatic pressure on South Africa should be better focused," Mr Buthelezi said, according to a faxed copy to SAPA of a memorandum he presented at his meeting with Mrs McDougall. The kwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president is on a private visit to Canada.

"Attention should be paid less to the need to scrap apartheid, than to the actual steps which should be taken to achieve a democratic end. Yet the West appears more eager to end apartheid than to establish a multiparty democracy in its place.

"The urgent need for the resumption of negotiations in South Africa can be furthered by the international community," Mr Buthelezi said. "Whilst many Western governments realise the need for negotiations to succeed in South Africa, they have not matched their condemnation for apartheid and support for sanctions with material and diplomatic support for the processes of peace and reconciliation...

"More than anything, South Africa needs a reconciled population in which it is possible to develop a national will if political change is to be made meaningful," Mr Buthelezi said. "Only non-violent, democratic opposition can produce the degree of national reconciliation required... The going might get tougher, but apartheid is doomed.

"The achievement of peace and stability in South Africa rests heavily on the process of negotiations, and the

ability of opposing parties to reach some form of consensus on how to end the war in black communities."

Mrs McDougall, in an earlier statement, said she would use the meeting to urge Mr Buthelezi to return to constitutional talks. "We believe that the only path to democracy, peace and security in South Africa is through multiparty negotiations towards a new constitution," she said in a statement. "I welcome the opportunity to talk with Chief Buthelezi to convey Canada's deep concern over the continuing violence in South Africa. I will urge him to go back to negotiations."

Slovo Defends 'Sunset Clause'

MB1911182992 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
19 Nov 92 p 2

[Report by Mzimasi Ngudle: "Slovo stands by his 'sunset clause'"]

[Text] South African Communist Party chairman and ANC [African National Congress] executive member Mr. Joe Slovo defended his "sunset clause" on the SOWETAN/Radio Metro Talkback show on Tuesday night.

"The premise of the 'sunset clause' still remains intact despite revelations of the Military Intelligence dirty tricks to destabilise the African National Congress.

"The regime's principled position is that it knows it cannot govern in the old way. It recognises that a universally acceptable regime must come into place.

"To this end the Government is intent on weakening the ANC and retaining power. Hence its strategic position evidenced by the recent revelations.

"The point is not what commissions are revealing, but what (President FW) de Klerk is doing about the ghastly crimes against humanity as well as attempts to discredit the ANC.

"The issue is what has De Klerk done about it. He has done nothing up to now," Slovo said.

He said there was obviously a dark cloud following the Goldstone Commission's disclosures. He said the ANC structures were busy consulting and would determine what effect will the disclosures have on the negotiating process.

He said the "sunset clause" proposals were his assessment and those of the people generally.

"Clearly the enemy is not defeated. Neither are we suing for surrender. But surely, the enemy knows our strength is the people and that is why all the dirty tricks campaigns. My basic proposition is that we have come across a give-and-take situation. We need a package that, while not compromising the interests of the people, will also adequately address the interests of the minorities."

He said his proposals underpinned the "virtue of necessity" to accommodate minority interests, the importance of which the ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has so persistently emphasised.

"These issues have to be addressed now. We cannot wait until a democratic settlement is in place."

Slovo told Mr Tito Mboweni of the ANC's economic desk that there was less risk in dealing with forces which were bent on sabotaging the negotiation process from within than from outside the negotiating table.

"You must not forget that what I meant was a short transition period with definite time frames," he said.

Deputy Minister on 'Changing Priorities'

MB2011063992 Pretoria PARATUS in English Nov 92
pp 12,13

[Article by Wynand Breytenbach, Deputy Minister of Defense and Environmental Affairs: "Future Defence: The lean peace-machine"]

[Text] Five years ago we were locked in a full-scale conventional war in South Eastern Angola, a counterinsurgency war in the then South West Africa and large-scale internal unrest in South Africa.

Today we have cordial relations with Angola, the war in South West Africa has ended leading to the birth of the new state of Namibia, the conventional threat has largely disappeared and in South Africa negotiations is the order of the day.

The successful ending of the war has enabled the South African Government to launch its political initiatives which climaxed with the dramatic announcements by the State President on 2 February 1990. The unbanning of political organisations, the release of Mr. Mandela and the start of meaningful constitutional negotiations coupled to the peace process in Southern Africa, brought about a radical adjustment to our national priorities.

Where the winning of the war was the overwhelming priority five years ago, the emphasis has now shifted to socio-economic advancement. Where the major portion of the national budget had to be allocated to Defence and the related security services, the bulk of the budget now goes to education and welfare.

We have moved into a post-war situation—like we did after World War I and after World War II. It is now again time to trim and to rationalise the Defence Force.

Because of the changing priorities, the Defence budget has been reduced substantially during the past few years and will again be reduced in the coming financial year. The Defence Force has taken note of the changing circumstances and took the initiative to rationalise the force.

Rationalisation inevitably leads to a smaller Defence Force with less weapons and less men. But, as I emphasised in my interview in Paratus last month, we have managed the rationalisation process very carefully to enable the Defence Force to carry out its tasks effectively under the present and foreseeable circumstances. We thus have a leaner Defence Force, but still a very potent Defence Force.

And this is a most important point, because many of our citizens are worried about the future and are afraid that the new Defence Force might not be able to protect them from anarchy.

I would like to reaffirm that the Defence Force will guarantee stability during the negotiations, during the negotiations, during the implementation of the new political dispensation and after the birth of the new South Africa.

The rationalisation process has also affected Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] which played a vitally important role in the successes of the South African Defence Force [SADF]. Armscor designed and produced weapons which gave our soldiers the winning edge.

Now, in the changing circumstances and the changing priorities, the armaments industry is making its sophisticated technology available to the rest of the (non-armaments) industry. I am confident that this will also provide our industry and especially our exporters, with the winning edge.

The role of the South African Defence force is also changing as a result of the changing priorities.

Five years ago, we were fighting an enemy outside the borders of South Africa. Today we are deployed inside the borders to combat a new enemy, namely violence. We now have more troops deployed inside South Africa than we ever had during the height of the war in South Africa or in Angola.

We have additionally been tasked to assist the SA Police in the prevention of crime—something we have not been involved with before. We have, however, in the past often assisted the police in the maintenance of law and order—a good example is the 1922 miners' strike in Johannesburg.

The ease with which the Defence Force is able to switch from one task to the other is a comforting sign of the SADF's flexibility.

But we have to ensure that the Defence Force can also carry out its primary task to protect South Africa and its citizens against all forms of aggression. This means that we will have to continue training our soldiers and equipping them with the necessary arms and armaments.

That is why we are acquiring new trainer aircraft for the South African Air Force [SAAF] and are updating the SAAF's fighter force.

We are also looking at the needs of the Army and will soon have to look at the needs of the Navy.

In view of the changing priorities, the Defence Force's manpower needs are receiving urgent attention. Specific attention is paid to the question of whether or not compulsory military service or conscription should be introduced for members of all population groups or whether a completely new manning policy should be introduced. The maintenance of the part-time forces also forms part of the investigations.

The South African Defence Force has, of course, always had members of different population groups serving in its uniforms. During World War I and World War II, for instance, more than 160,000 Black soldiers volunteered for service.

The heroic way in which 615 of these soldiers faced death when the *SS Mendi* sank in the icy waters of the English Channel on 21 February 1917, is still considered to be one of the outstanding feats of World War I. This is graphically reflected in South Africa's Delville Wood Memorial Museum in France.

We have to maintain this proud tradition of professionalism and courage in any future Defence Force.

Another important tradition to be upheld and maintained is the Defence Force's apolitical stance. The Defence Force has always strived to remain above party politics and to be completely neutral.

The Defence Force should stay out of political disputes in order to ensure stability in South Africa and to be able to guarantee and protect the Constitution.

The South African Defence Force, which has been deeply affected by changing circumstances and the Government's changing priorities, faces a daunting future. But, judging from the SADF's successes during the past 80 years, the organisation should overcome these challenges and maintain its proud record.

New Navy Chief on Future of Navy, Economy

MB2011075692 Pretoria PARATUS in English Nov 92 pp 22-24

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Navy Chief Vice Admiral R.C. (Robert) Simpson-Anderson by Cmdt John Moody; place and date not given]

[Text] The South African Navy [SAN] has a new Chief since 1 September 1992. He is V Adm R.C. (Robert) Simpson-Anderson, a Strike Craft man. His predecessor was a submariner.

What new course, what new direction is the new Chief of the SA Navy going to take? Will there be changes ... a shift in emphasis away from submarines to surface ships?

[Simpson-Anderson] "I am the last person to start changing things on a large scale in the Navy. There may be shifts in emphasis here and there, but no drastic changes," he told the media during a press conference at Naval Headquarters in Pretoria.

[Moody] Later, during an exclusive interview, I learnt more of the man who contemplated becoming an architect, started his military career as a recruit at the Air Force Gymnasium, but then decided to join the Navy instead.

I asked V Adm Simpson-Anderson how he approached his challenging task as Chief of the SAN. He replied:

[Simpson-Anderson] "I believe in participative management. I have a pool of knowledge and expertise amongst my staff which I cannot ignore, so I will be very heavily dependent on my personnel to supply me with the right information, advice and guidance. I intend using it in order to reach decisions and to keep the Navy on the right track for the future.

"I also believe very strongly in setting clear objectives for the Navy, which will take the form of a Naval Board exercise that I will be leading, once again making use of the expertise of my staff. We will set objectives for the future. These will then be broken up into sub-and sub-sub objectives. Eventually we will have a whole hierarchy of objectives for the Navy.

"It is important that we also ensure that these objectives are achieved by followup exercises and proper control. If we deviate from our objectives we will take the necessary remedial action. That is more or less the way I will position the Navy for the future.

"I also believe that, inside the Navy itself, I must make myself as visible as possible, especially in these times of uncertainty and instability in the country. I think it is important for an organisation's chief executive to talk to people and to give them assurance about the future. Especially assurance about the future of the Navy.

"Something I will not lose sight of is the fact that I will be the person who more than anyone else will have to reach out outside the Navy and influence the decision makers when it comes to the allocation of resources such as funds. I will obviously be the person most responsible for liaising with bodies outside the Navy.

"Of course I do consider myself the person responsible to position the Navy for the future. I see that as one of the main roles that I will have to play."

[Moody] V Adm Simpson-Anderson then dealt with what he expects from the officers and men under his command.

[Simpson-Anderson] "Firstly I expect hard work—very hard work. These days the Navy cannot afford to keep people who do not pull their full weight. Secondly we need people who are absolutely dedicated to the service.

"What I expect is loyalty. We are very fortunate in that we are very loyal people in the Navy. I do not only refer to uniform staff but also our civilians.

"Regarding my officers' corps and also the warrant officers, I will be looking for innovation. People have come up with wonderful ideas for new ways of doing things when it comes to productivity. I think we are entering a period where we need people with an innovative spirit and willingness to look for and find, better ways of doing things."

[Moody] Asked about the future of the SA Navy in a "new" South Africa, V Adm Simpson-Anderson said:

[Simpson-Anderson] "I have a vision for the future of the Navy.

"We must ensure that South Africa certainly has the best Navy in Africa outside the Mediterranean in terms of our capabilities, our operational readiness, our support capability and our reach—that distance that we can carry out long exercises or missions.

"I certainly do not want to see the SA Navy become the second best in Africa. I don't fancy myself being the chief of the second best Navy. So I will strive to keep the SA Navy the best, not only in Southern Africa but also in Africa outside the Mediterranean.

"It is my intention to maintain a fully balanced Navy. We need a surface capability, a sub-surface capability, a mine countermeasures capability and also a combat support capability to give us that extra reach to operate away from home bases for lengthy periods.

"We have a balanced Navy at this stage and I intend keeping it so well beyond the year 2000. And we will do that by not only maintaining our hulls and propulsion systems, but also by making sure that we update the weapons and detection systems of our ships.

"We must maintain our present force levels. Not only in terms of hulls but also operational ships at sea. We underwent very severe cuts some three years ago, but one of the aspects of the cuts we are very proud of is the fact that we affected those cuts primarily on the support side of the Navy. We have ensured that the number of ships have been kept constant.

"Whatever happens we must not reduce the number of our operational ships. We have already reached what I think is the critical mass. Should we reduce the number of operational ships at sea, we will severely jeopardize our capabilities in terms of those functions that we consider to be critical in giving us a peacetime role.

"I mean to maintain our naval facilities at Salisbury Island in Durban. The question is often asked whether we can afford to keep our base in Durban open. But I cannot and will not consider closing down a base which was developed at great cost over the years our most important commercial port.

"From a strategic point of view it is a military asset that we cannot afford to close down.

"I will do my utmost to have our ships replaced timely. Our ships are growing old and if we do not start new ship-building programmes in the next three or four years then we might run into problems. We will have a situation where our ships will be spending more and more time alongside and costing us more and more money to maintain.

"I believe that we must find the right gap in the Defence budget so that we can look at the replacement of our surface ships and then our submarines.

"It is my intention that the Navy should not only be operationally prepared for a possible war but that we should also ensure that the Navy is a useful organisation in time of peace. Here I think of search and rescue operations that the Navy can take part in. We have been very successful in this regard. The *Oceanos* disaster in 1991 is a good example.

"We think of support operations during the past 2 and a half years. We have taken supplies to disaster stricken areas such as Bangladesh and we have sent the *SAS Tafelberg* to Kenya with relief supplies for Somali refugees in the north of that country.

"We will continue showing the flag. In this regard we support the initiatives of the Department of Foreign Affairs and we believe that with Foreign Affairs we can play a very important role to open doors for South Africa or help open doors even wider in those cases where doors have already been opened, thus strengthening bonds of friendship.

"We also in time of peace use our ships to a great extent to protect our maritime resources, particularly fish resources. In the past 2 and a half years we have arrested no fewer than five large fishing trawlers that plundered our waters. The Navy thus has a very important peacetime role to play and I intend to ensure that it will continue to do so.

"We must maintain our expertise. Previously we were very dependent on other countries' expertise, particularly the Royal Navy and the French. But over the years we started building up our own expertise, our own way of doing things. I think we have the best naval expertise in Africa and of the best in the Southern hemisphere.

"We should do everything within our capability to maintain this expertise. We are after all working with technologically advanced equipment—submarines, weapons systems and missile systems which require a very high level of expertise, not only to operate but also maintain.

"It is also my intention that we maintain our naval culture, of which we are very proud and have nurtured it over the years.

"We must also maintain the Navy's standards. We are proud of our very high operational, maintenance and training standards. We cannot allow it to drop. In this new South Africa of ours these standards will be sacrosanct to us and very important to ensure safety and operational readiness.

"It is important that our various race groups be well represented in the Navy. I have always said that the SA Navy started preparing for the new South Africa in 1968 when we introduced Coloureds into the Navy as fully integrated personnel on board our ships. We followed in 1975 with the Indians and about three years ago with Blacks. It is very pleasing to state that the percentage of other race groups comprises 45 percent of the Navy already.

"Last but not least it is my intention to ensure that our personnel are not only well trained but also well motivated and happy. There is a lot of uncertainty in the country and the last place where we can afford to have uncertainty and depression is in the Defence Force, which includes the Navy.

"I am going to put in an extra amount of effort to ensure that our people are well informed, that they know what is going on, that there are no grounds for uncertainty and the spreading of rumours. I will do my utmost to ensure that we have contented people. This includes our civilians as well. Remember that close to 50 percent of the people working in and for the Navy are civilians. Personnel are, after all, the most valuable asset we have in the Navy."

[Moody] V adm Simpson-Anderson had this to say about retrenchments:

[Simpson-Anderson] "The cuts that are to be effected next year in respect of the Navy's budget will not come merely through retrenchments. We intend reshuffling some of our projects, stretching and scaling some of them down. We are also cutting our running costs. Only then do we talk about retrenchments.

"Unfortunately we cannot deny that retrenchments are going to take place in the Navy. Of course the Navy did retrench 2,400 people three years ago. It was an absolutely traumatic event in the history of the Navy. We managed to survive that trauma by means of all sorts of measures which were introduced such as team-building exercises. We immediately launched our new programmes to utilise the Navy in its peacetime role, we undertook overseas trips and assisted the Department of Environmental Affairs and Fisheries Protection etc.

"We stabilized the situation very quickly and are proud of the fact that we achieved magnificent results. We would like to believe that we have gone through the major retrenchment that one expects after a period of war. We have gone through a major rationalisation already.

"What is taking place for the foreseeable future is what I would like to call a fine tuning. We will rationalise on a much lesser scale, mainly by looking at the restructuring of the Dockyard in Simonstown. Secondly we are going to rationalise the SA Naval Works where we have established that we can achieve the same objectives by introducing productivity programmes using fewer people.

"We have to rationalise *SAS Jalsena* which was established about fifteen years ago with the sole purpose of training Indian volunteers who joined for two years and then went back to civilian life. There is no justification any longer to have a unit dedicated to the training of Indians only. Those Indians who wish to volunteer for short service will henceforth be trained at the *SAS Saldanha*.

"We will be retrenching small numbers of people where we have established that we have an excess of personnel. That is right across the whole Navy. But there won't be large-scale retrenchments, as we had our turn.

"Lastly: There will still be enough funds to maintain our present fleet and facilities. We will still be able to carry out our operations. We will also be able to carry on with those projects that are underway to lengthen the lives of our ships and submarines and to ensure that they remain operational to the year 2000 and beyond."

20 November Review of Current Events, Issues MB2011140092

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

MI Investigation Task 'Nigh Hopeless'—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 20 November in a page 16 editorial declares that the Cabinet decision to appoint a military man to investigate the military, and then to report privately to the president, "is a pallid and unacceptable response. It will not dispel widespread unease, and therefore widespread speculation, about the SADF's [South African Defense Force] dirty tricks brigade." "The public has had enough of departmental investigations; policemen investigating policemen and the like." "The new-broom head of the military's intelligence services, Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, is widely regarded as a man of integrity, but his task is nigh hopeless. He has no powers of subpoena, no mechanism for prosecuting perjurers, no weapon but rank to dig out the truth."

Goldstone Revelations Serve Public Interest—A second editorial on the same page says President De Klerk has "criticised Judge Goldstone for telling the public about the disgraceful Ferdi Barnard affair. He awakens memories of another judicial commissioner and another time." Goldstone has also been criticised for revealing "untested" evidence, yet "secret military files are hardly that. They show the truth as some elements of the

military saw it. Public interest is undoubtedly served by revealing such illegal plotting."

BUSINESS DAY

De Klerk 'Unable or Unwilling' To Impose Will on Security—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 20 November in a page 10 editorial notes that "even those who wish him [President De Klerk] well can see he has been unable or unwilling to impose his will on the security forces; the unseemly scramble to pass indemnity legislation which would put security force killers beyond the law has added to everyone's unease." "Time and again, secret projects have become public at the most embarrassing time for De Klerk; projects he did not initiate but for which he is responsible, whether he knows of them or not, have tarnished the image of a man on whom the nation's hopes were pinned. Each revelation raises public suspicions of hit squads or a third force, of criminality and misplaced millions, of state money and manpower used for political purposes." De Klerk's future as a leader may depend on his "exposing these projects and those responsible for them. He has hesitated too often; now he must destroy secrecy before it destroys him."

SOWETAN

Security Establishment 'Blackmailing' De Klerk—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 20 November in a page 10 editorial encourages President De Klerk to "allow the can of worms regarding the activities of the security forces to be opened instead of floundering from crisis to crisis." SOWETAN believes that the decision to allow the army to investigate itself is a "cover-up." "We do know that the security establishment has been blackmailing President de Klerk, fearing that his reform activities will expose its activities when destabilising black organisations was the order of the day." De Klerk should let "the rot be exposed once and for all," to "spring the country into the next phase—national reconstruction."

NEW NATION

Leadership Loses Control of Security Establishment—The need to "purge the security forces of its cancerous elements has never been so urgent as now," declares the page 20 editorial in Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 20-26 November. The paper believes that if the denials by some top government ministers of involvement in Military Intelligence "dirty tricks," the paper is "tempted to assume" that "the political leadership of the ruling National Party has lost control of the security establishment." "If involvement of a member of the cabinet has deliberately been faked, then the clear message seems to be that this country's army generals harbour an inherent mistrust of civilian rule. It also means that some security force leaders are determined to resist the transformation of our society to a true democracy."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

No De Klerk Initiatives on Goldstone Revelations—Commenting on President De Klerk's reaction to Judge Goldstone's revelations of MI "dirty tricks," Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 20-26 November states: "At each stage of the revelations, he has taken no initiatives. He has responded to media exposure by doing just enough to take the pressure off him, but never enough to make sure such excesses never happen again. His actions may have the effect of slowly isolating and disempowering his opponents in the military, but so far it is a piecemeal, half-hearted effort.

Perhaps that's too generous an assessment: De Klerk has not fired anybody, not suspended anybody, not closed down any operations. His was a quarter-hearted effort. He hasn't even done the little he did after Inkathagate, when he sidelined two ministers. He has appointed a general to take control of and investigate Military Intelligence. This is like trying to clean an oil slick with a feather duster." De Klerk is either "unable to take stronger action, because of a fear of his rightwing in the cabinet and the military; or he knew about it, and therefore can't pin the blame on anyone else."

Angola

Savimbi Accepts Legislative Election Results

UN Confirmation

MB1911175592 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 19 Nov 92

[Telephone interview with Margaret Anstee, UN secretary general representative in Luanda, by Akwe Amosu in London on the "Focus on Africa" program; first paragraph is studio introduction—recorded]

[Text] At last, there is a ray of hope that Angola might not slip back into renewed civil war. Since the results of the elections were announced a month ago, Jonas Savimbi of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has refused to accept a narrow victory for President dos Santos and his MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]. There was fierce fighting for a while, then a fragile cease-fire with Savimbi holed up in Huambo, and diplomats desperately trying to get some agreement; especially UN peace keeping chief Marrack Goulding, who warned both sides to sort things out or the UN would wash his hands of the whole affair. Now, though, it is reported that Mr. Savimbi has written to the United Nations, accepting the election results. On the line to Luanda, Akwe Amosu asked the UN special representative, Margaret Anstee, if she can confirm that:

[Anstee] Yes, we received yesterday, I received yesterday here a letter dated 17th of November from Dr. Savimbi addressed to Mr. Goulding. It's a follow up to our conversation together here last week. At the beginning of this letter, it begins by saying that the Permanent Committee of UNITA's Political Commission met in Huambo on the 15th and 16th of November, have reached a number of decisions, among them that UNITA accepts the results of the legislative elections of the 29th and 30th of September to allow for the implementation of the peace process as agreed in Bicesse on 31st May 1991.

However, it does include the phrase, UNITA accepts the results of the admittedly fraudulent and irregular legislative elections. And of course, we have had to make the observation that while we are very gratified to note these decisions, and we have communicated it to President dos Santos—I did this in a meeting this morning—we have, (?as I said), to observe that we cannot accept the qualification of those elections as fraudulent and irregular.

[Amosu] But Ms. Anstee, this is the first time it is not that Mr. Savimbi has actually accepted the results of those elections, fraudulent or not?

[Anstee] Well, it is to my knowledge and it is an extremely important step forward. You have to note, however, that I have seen just now a press release by UNITA, by the Free Angola Information Service in Washington, which in fact actually says, it refers to this letter of 17th November and says that the UNITA

leadership reiterated its acceptance of the results of the legislative elections, saying that they came to [words indistinct] on October the 16th. But I must say that this is the first time that I have seen it explicitly in writing, and it is, as I said, very welcome.

[Amosu] Now, Mr. Savimbi specifically talks about the legislative elections. Presumably that means that as far as the presidential ones are concerned, he still expects to go to a second round run off.

[Anstee] I assume so. There is no mention of this in this letter. Of course, it was a subject that Mr. Goulding and I discussed with him when we saw him at the beginning of last week. I have to have another meeting, I expect on Saturday [21 November] afternoon with Dr. Savimbi, and we shall pursue that subject as well.

[Amosu] Do you now expect that UNITA will attend the multiparty conference that the MPLA has called for Saturday?

[Anstee] I very much hope that they will do so, and I have seen references in the press to a statement by Dr. Savimbi which would seem to indicate a willingness to attend. I also know that President dos Santos has (?sent) a formal invitation to Dr. Savimbi, inviting him to send a representative.

Government Sees Letter as 'Positive Step'

MB2011090792 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 20 Nov 92

[Text] The Angolan Government believes that Jonas Savimbi's letter to Marrack Goulding is a positive step toward peace if the National Union for the Total Independence of Angolay also recognizes the results of the first round of presidential elections, and is ready to participate in the second round. [Former Territorial Administration Minister] Lopo do Nascimento spoke to the Voice of America [passage indistinct]. Lopo do Nascimento said he still had reservations since a definitive position depends on the reading of Jonas Savimbi's entire letter, which by yesterday had not reached the government.

Preparations Begin for 21 Nov Multiparty Conference

UNITA Ready

MB2011110492 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 20 Nov 92

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], has expressed its readiness to attend the multiparty conference tomorrow, which will assess the country's political situation and the possibility of holding the second round of presidential elections. The PORTUGUESE NEWS AGENCY reports that UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi wrote a letter to the president of

the Republic, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, accepting his previous conditions for holding talks. In the letter, UNITA accepts the results of the September elections whereby it was defeated, although it notes they were massively fraudulent. Other government conditions were that UNITA should publicly renounce the use of force to solve differences, reaffirmation of the Bicesse peace accords, the respect for effective cease-fire, and a broader UN participation in the second round of presidential elections.

Council of Ministers Prepares

*MB1911154892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 19 Nov 92*

[Interview with Council of Ministers Secretary Jose Leitao by unidentified reporter on 19 November; place not given—recorded; first paragraph is studio introduction]

[Text] The Council of Ministers met at the Futungo de Belas in Luanda today to come up with a draft agenda for the meeting of the political parties elected to Parliament. The multiparty meeting is scheduled to begin in Luanda on 21 November. Council of Ministers Secretary Jose Leitao had this say:

[Begin recording] [Leitao] Every party with seats in Parliament has been invited to attend the meeting.

[Reporter] In the specific case of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], how was the invitation made?

[Leitao] The invitation was conveyed through the existing channels. As you know, we have a channel with UNITA, which was used to send the invitation to UNITA President Jonas Savimbi.

[Reporter] How important will be that meeting [words indistinct]?

[Leitao] The new parliament is scheduled to be sworn in on 25 November. The multiparty meeting is designed to create ways of setting up the organs elected at the 29-30 September polls—namely, the Parliament and the government.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]?

[Leitao] The meeting's agenda includes only one point. There will be a report on the current political situation, as well as how those organs will be sworn in. That is all.

[Reporter] What role will the political parties play in the meeting?

[Leitao] Those parties should see to it that the organs elected at the September polls will be sworn in on the agreed dates. [end recording]

Political, Military Situation 'Not Improved'

*MB1911142392 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 19 Nov 92*

[Text] The political and military situation in Angola has not improved. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] continues to occupy most of Cuanza Norte Province, with the exception of Cambamba.

Caxito, the capital of Bengo Province, has been under UNITA control for more than two weeks.

There are reports that UNITA troops and war materiel are being deployed in almost every part of the country in order to take part in other military actions. Official reports say that UNITA forces plundered the Capanga Commune of Cuanza Sul Province. In Malange, an unspecified number of Jonas Savimbi's troops detained and assaulted civilians in Quibala and Bengo Communes.

Uige Province has been overflowed by aircraft, presumably coming from Zaire. UNITA's strength in the region has been estimated at 3,749 men.

Official reports say that five Land Rover vehicles, equipped with 106-mm guns, have arrived in Huila Province's Caconda District with the aim of taking part in an attack on the city of Lubango. The vehicles traveled from Huambo. Members of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola stationed at the 16 km marker, and awaiting to be demobilized, are moving to areas where they will receive weapons.

Official sources said that white men, presumably South Africans, disembarked from helicopters that landed in Camanongue District, Moxico Province.

In Cuando Cubango Province, the UNITA delegation has called for another meeting with the provincial government. Namibe Province Governor Joaquim Matias said that there is no threat of war in his province, though the residents fear that the situation could change at any moment in view of the behavior of UNITA troops.

In Lunda Sul Province, the political and military situation has become more tense following UNITA's occupation of almost every district. Jonas Savimbi's men intend to occupy the city of Saurimo.

Mozambique

Cease-Fire Commission Meets 18 Nov

*MB1811195992 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 18 Nov 92*

[Text] The Cease-Fire Commission [CCF], established within the framework of the Mozambique General Peace Accord, met in Maputo this afternoon to assess the alleged violations of that accord reported by the government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo]. The meeting was chaired by Lieutenant Colonel

Sinha, chief of the UN military observers, who made the following remarks to Mozambican and foreign newsmen:

[Begin Sinha recording in English fading into Portuguese translation] It was a normal working meeting of the CCF. The agenda had a number of points, particularly the investigations carried out by the verification team in various parts of the country. The team has submitted a report of its findings. Our recommendations will be submitted to the Supervision and Control Commission [CSC], which is a political organ that can take action based on our recommendations. Our recommendations are in line with the General Peace Accord and are designed to urge the sides to control fully their forces and to enlighten them about the clauses of the Peace Accord.

Most of the military activities have been due to ignorance of what is stated in the General Peace Accord and to lack of communication. We have recommended a number of measures aimed at improving communications between the two sides and how to enlighten the forces about the meaning of a cease-fire and a violation. [end recording]

On the findings of the verification team, Lt. Col. Sinha said that there have been abnormal military activities [actividades militares nao normais—i.e., activities that contravene the General Peace Accord]. He said that the team's report gave a full account of the such activities, based on information gathered from civilians, and administrative and military authorities of both sides.

Turning to the specific case of Lugela in Zambezia Province, Lt. Col. Sinha said the team found that there was an abnormal military activity first by one of the sides and then by the other side. He added that 100 Renamo troops are in Lugela and were interviewed by the UN verification team. Due to a lack of time, the team could not travel to areas where government forces are stationed in the outlying areas of Lugela.

Asked if the team had recommended Renamo to withdraw from Lugela, Sinha recalled that the CCF is a technical organ whose role is to gather and investigate facts, and submit its findings to the CSC which is responsible for making recommendations to both sides.

On the turning in of weapons by the government and Renamo, Lt. Col. Sinha said that that is an ongoing process, adding that the UN will provide sappers for the disarming of land mines.

Namibia

Malaysia Inks Economic, Science Agreement

MB2011104292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0937 GMT 20 Nov 92

[By Carmen Honey]

[Text] Windhoek Nov 20 SAPA—Trade ministers from Namibia and Malaysia signed an economic, scientific

and technical cooperation agreement in Windhoek on Friday at the end of a four-day official visit by Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamed.

Dr. Mahathir, accompanied by his wife Dr. Siti Hasmah Bte Haji Modh Ali, Primary Industries Minister Dr. Lim Keng Yaik, senior government officials and a 20-member business delegation, arrived on Monday [16 November] for bilateral discussions and to explore trade and investment opportunities in Namibia.

Dr. Mahathir told a news briefing at State House he had held a wrong impression of the country. He was pleasantly surprised at Namibia's development and the potential for co-operation which would be mutually beneficial. "The stage is now set for close co-operation between the two countries," he said. Malaysian businessmen would look at the possibility of investing in the leisure industry and promoting tourism. Since Malaysia was already flying to Johannesburg, it would be easy to connect to Namibia, Dr. Mahathir said.

This trip, following one by President Sam Nujoma to Kuala Lumpur in September, included visits to a diamond mine, fishing company and the Etosha National Park and talks with the local business community.

In a joint communique, Mr. Nujoma and Dr. Mahathir welcomed the holding of the summit of 15 countries of the south in Dakar, Senegal from November 21 to 23, and hoped that it would propose new ways of increasing trade and investment in developing countries. The two leaders expressed grave concern about the renewed threat of war in Angola and appealed to all parties to respect the wishes of the Angolan people and do everything possible to bring about peace and stability. "They further appealed to all external parties to desist from actions likely to jeopardise the fragile transition process," the communique said.

Dr. Mahathir left Windhoek for the Dakar summit on Friday morning.

The economic, scientific and technical agreement was signed by Dr. Lim Keng Yaik and Namibia's Trade and Industry Minister Ben Amathila.

* Rising Crime, Increasing Violence Observed

93AF0114A Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 30 Sep 92 p 15

[Report on speech by Professor Chris Tapscott of the University of Namibia, at an RGN congress, by Liesl Louw: "Namibian Move Toward Coexistence Not So Peaceful"]

[Text] When Namibia became independent in March 1990, politicians announced that the decades of strife and war were over and that the time for democracy and peaceful coexistence had arrived. And yet, figures show

that crime has sharply increased during the first two years following independence. Especially assaults, looting, fraud, and property damage have in some cases tripled and even quadrupled.

This is what Professor Chris Tapscott of the University of Namibia said at an RGN [Council for Humanities Research] congress. Liesl Louw reports.

The shocking figures of the sharp increase in crime following Namibia's independence are a major embarrassment to the country's new government. This is partly due to the idealistic expectations of some politicians who considered crime exclusively as a product of the colonial era and did not take into account the numerous other factors which play a role during a transition period, said Professor Tapscott of the Namibian Institute for Social and Economic Research at the University of Namibia.

In his speech at the Council for Humanities Research (RGN)'s conference on handling crime in the new South Africa, Professor Tapscott explained the deep seated inequalities within the Namibian economy, the legacy of the freedom struggle, and the role of the police and the judicial system, all of which could provide possible explanations for the worrisome crime figures.

These factors and trends might also be important indicators for South Africans of what lies ahead, so that timely provision can be made there for a system which would be simultaneously more democratic, more just, and free of crime, he said.

His analysis of what has happened in his country over the last two years has not made him pessimistic, however, and he believes that Namibia is much better off now than before independence.

The publication of figures about crime trends is managed by the office of the Namibian minister of domestic affairs—an indication that the government is particularly sensitive to this.

According to the latest figures on property crime, theft increased 211 percent between 1989 and 1991. During the same period, cattle rustling increased by 120 percent, car theft by 122 percent, shoplifting by 138 percent, and fraud by 178 percent.

Robbery of businesses has increased by 117 percent and that of private residences by 93 percent.

According to Professor Tapscott, those crimes can be explained to a large extent in light of the economic collapse, the current drought, and the socio-economic expectations of large segments of the population.

Deep-seated inequalities, a legacy of the apartheid government, make it extremely difficult for the Swapo [South West African People's Organization] government to improve that situation.

Attempts by the state are being sunk by, among other things, a lack of diversification—nearly the whole

economy is concentrated around mining and rock quarrying (32 percent in 1989), government service (18 percent), trade (13 percent), and agriculture and fishing (11 percent).

Due to the war and the political uncertainty and a decrease in mining activities, the Namibian economy has grown very slowly over the last decade.

This has led to large-scale unemployment, worsened by the 1989 withdrawal of the armed forces, which has caused thousands of people to lose their jobs.

In addition to these factors, police activities also decreased during the transition period. There is also, among a large number of Namibians, a lack of a well-defined sense of social responsibility.

In the past, crime or robbery against the government were rationalized by those people as being "actions of resistance" or "political sabotage" and some of them find it difficult to stray from that kind of "redistribution" now.

It is true that the new government has already achieved some measure of success in its attempt to change the people's way of thinking in this regard, but it is incomplete and erratic, said Professor Tapscott.

Even though an increase in crime against possessions and property might have been expected, the large number of violent crimes causes a great deal of concern.

From May 1989 to April 1991, assaults increased by 396 percent, murder by 64 percent, robbery by 320 percent, and rape by 78 percent.

Explanations for that trend are not readily available, but could perhaps be found in the fact that Namibian society as a whole is experiencing a period of post-traumatic stress as it were.

For more than 20 years, the country was a theatre of war and violence, and killings were everyday occurrences.

Since independence it has often happened that individuals who were formerly involved in the armed struggle and were used to channel their aggression toward the enemy, have taken out their anger and frustration on friends, neighbors, and other members of the public.

It is also possible that some of the violent crimes that took place only after independence, were politically motivated in the sense that supporters of different political groups wanted revenge against their opponents, stated Professor Tapscott.

The new government's policy of national reconciliation has undoubtedly done a great deal to relieve political tensions, and thus also political violence. Yet, it is unlikely that in the short term this policy will have an influence on other forms of violence.

In spite of the fact that the latest figures, which have not yet been processed, indicate that the whole range of

violent crime may be stabilizing, or even show a slight decrease, it is likely that the culture of violence, which was symptomatic of Namibia during the war years, will continue for several more years.

In addition to all possible explanations for the increase in violence, it may also be partly due to the problems of transforming the Namibian police (Nampol) from a police power into a police service.

During the two decades preceding independence, Nampol, formerly known as the South West African police (Swapol), played a paramilitary role in every sense of the word.

The police were part of the South African war effort and are seen by a large majority of Namibians as instruments of repression. The incorporation, in 1986, of the famous Koevoet unit into the police force further strengthened that perception.

This distrust of the police is reflected in the hesitation to report crime and may even include protection of criminals.

Following independence, Nampol also experienced serious manpower shortages because many senior officers left the country. This led to a broad recruitment campaign and about 450 returned expatriates were also hired as policemen.

At that time problems occurred due to the broad differences in educational levels of the new policemen, some of whom were completely illiterate.

In spite of upgrading programs, there is still a major problem because of the deficient level of knowledge of many members of the police force.

However, it does appear that the original distrust between old and new members of the police force has disappeared and that this no longer represents a threat to the successful performance of the police force's task.

Another problem which originally caused a great many problems for Nampol, is the fact that some policemen

tried to compensate for their negative image by not reporting certain crimes, for example, and thus to earn goodwill in the community.

But from time to time there are always members of the public who complain that the police are not taking any action against crimes.

In addition to these problems, the public's confidence in the police, and its willingness to report crimes, is being undermined by the ineffectiveness of the Namibian courts.

A shortage of magistrates and public prosecutors immediately following independence also made it necessary to start a major recruitment campaign in these areas. The vacancies which occurred due to the departure of South Africans and new positions which were created in several regions, were the primary reasons this became necessary.

The professional standard of these new institutions was uneven, said Professor Tapscott.

Some of those who were appointed had excellent qualifications and abilities, while others were poorly trained and inexperienced. The result is that at the present time the courts are not able to handle the affairs they must take care of in a satisfactory manner.

Numerous cases are postponed and lawbreakers are either released on bail or never convicted due to the poor preparation of the charge sheets.

This then causes members of the public to be afraid of providing proof to the court because they are afraid that those who are thus revealed will take revenge.

And yet, in spite of the increase in the crime figures, said Professor Tapscott, overall Namibia today is a much more peaceful country than it ever was during the two decades preceding independence.

The constitution's strong emphasis on the preservation of individual human rights and the government's program of national reconciliation have provided a foundation for the creation of a new national identity for everyone in the country, free of racial and ethnic tensions—and free of violence.

Liberia**UN To Impose Arms Embargo on Warring Factions***AB2011120392 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 20 Nov 92*

[Text] In a (?close) support for the peace efforts of the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, the UN Security Council has voted to impose an arms embargo on warring factions in Liberia. The UN Security Council called on the warring factions to observe a cease-fire and honor the ECOWAS peace plan leading to disarmament and the holding of free and fair general elections. The report said the United Nations is to send a special representative to Liberia to assess the situation. Recently, the Abuja ECOWAS summit imposed sanctions on the NPFL, [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] for its failure to implement the Yamoussoukro peace accords.

In his reaction to the decision of the UN Security Council to impose an armed embargo against the warring factions in Liberia, Foreign Minister Bacchus Matthews, who was in New York along with other ECOWAS foreign ministers, observed that the debate at the Security Council and the unanimity of the vote is a source of [words indistinct] to all Liberians. Minister Matthews said the Security Council's move is a resolute one which would significantly contribute to the prospects for peace in Liberia. He expressed the interim government's pleasure at the decision of the UN Security Council.

Gbarnga Charges U.S. 'Veterans' With ECOMOG*AB2011082392 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English
0700 GMT 20 Nov 92*

[Text] As fierce fighting intensifies between the force of NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] and ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], it has been learned that a superpower is assisting the intervention force with not only weapons but also with trained men. According to an Information Ministry release, it has been revealed to military authorities of the NPFL that veterans of foreign wars of the United States are fighting alongside ECOMOG, the AFL [Armed Forces of Liberia], ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia], and the Black Berets against the people of Liberia in defense of their sovereignty. Newsmen who just visited the war front were shown badges worn by the U.S. war veterans that proved their involvement in the Liberian civil crisis.

Foreign Minister on UN Involvement*AB1911193092 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 19 Nov 92*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The UN Security Council is expected to pass a resolution about now, imposing an arms embargo on Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] in Liberia. It is also believed that a special UN representative will be sent to Liberia.

The speculation is that the move is partly aimed at bringing Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso into line with the West African countries backing ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, Cease-Fire Monitoring Group]. Ivory Coast has already closed the borders to Taylor, now it could be that an increase in UN involvement would counterbalance the Nigerian presence which Taylor and his allies strongly object to, especially as Nigerian planes have been going on the offensive against targets in Taylor territory.

Well interim Foreign Minister Bacchus Matthews is at the United Nations. Robin White asked him if it would be greater UN involvement and less ECOMOG in Liberia:

[Begin recording] [Matthews] No, it would mean the strengthening of the ECOWAS initiative by the United Nations. The involvement of the United Nations is not to obviate ECOWAS or to substitute it, but in fact to strengthen the efforts of the leaders of the subregion.

[White] So you do not see for instance UN troops replacing ECOMOG eventually?

[Matthews] No, that is a virtual impossibility.

[White] Why?

[Matthews] Well, under the charter, regional organizations have their role to play in dealing with regional problems and the ECOWAS effort is a welcomed effort by the United Nations, which has its plate full and rather than substituting it, in fact the United Nations would welcome the efforts of regional or subregional organizations in dealing with problems in their own areas.

[White] I am wondering if Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso have agreed to cooperate more with the ECOMOG in return for more United Nations involvement?

[Matthews] The two countries have emissaries here who are part of the committee requesting support and endorsement of the ECOWAS position from the security council.

[White] But have they promised to drop their support to Charles Taylor in return for more UN involvement in the process?

[Matthews] They are not admitting support for Mr. Taylor and they are not using that admission as a means of negotiating broader UN involvement. We are all part of an arrangement and all of us are on the same side.

[White] You are all on the same side officially and in public statements, but I am just wondering if some behind-closed-doors deals have been reached?

[Matthews] Well, the limit of diplomacy would require me to deal with the official acts.

[White] There are reports that Ivory Coast has closed its border to Charles Taylor to stop any supplies getting to him. Presumably, do you think that is a pretty positive sign?

[Matthews] Yes, there is a positive development. The states in the region have all been called upon to be supportive of the measures that are being taken to resolve the Liberian problem. So we see that as a positive development. [end recording]

NPFL To Give Clearance to UN Relief Planes

AB1711220592 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English
1900 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] The NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] Government says it has concluded arrangements with the United Nations officials in Monrovia for the safe landing of UN relief aircraft at the James Spriggs Payne Airfield in Monrovia. President Charles Gankay Taylor said he has also requested the UN to bring some relief food to the people of greater Liberia.

The President said the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] will suspend its bombardment of the Spriggs Payne Airfield when UN relief planes are about the land at the airfield. President Taylor is also urging other NGOs [non-governmental organizations] to bring in relief supplies and freely utilize port facilities in greater Liberia.

Observers say this latest goodwill gesture on the part of the NPRA Government to allow the United Nations to bring in relief supplies, especially food and medicine, for the Liberian people is another manifestation of government's love for the Liberian people and in furtherance of its efforts to see a peaceful resolution to the Liberian crisis.

Citizen's Committee Airs Views on U.S. Policy

AB181111792 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English
0700 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] The Citizens Action Committee [CAC] has described U.S. Undersecretary for African Affairs Herman Cohen as the most confused diplomat America has ever had in recent times. In a release, the Citizens Action Committee noted with dismay and disappointment the glaring contradictions and inconsistencies which have characterized U.S. policy regarding the ongoing war waged against the Liberian people by ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African State Cease-Fire Monitoring Group].

The release pointed out that the Bush administration was fully aware that ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] and ECOMOG are responsible for the renewal of bloodshed and human suffering in Liberia. CAC said because of its support for

ULIMO through ECOMOG, the U.S. Government does not want to boldly identify ULIMO and ECOMOG as the aggressors. The release went on to say that the inconsistencies (?dramatized) in Mr. Cohen's recent interviews over the BBC regarding what is obtaining in Liberia leads one to wonder whether the State Department and Cohen have been coordinating ideas before coming up with policy pronouncements on Liberia and the rest of Africa.

U.S. Backing of UN Observers Proposal Urged

AB1911105592 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English 0700
GMT 19 Nov 92

[Text] The National Patriotic Association of Liberia [NAPA] is calling for mass action to demand an immediate sending of UN peace monitoring troops to Liberia to replace ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African State Cease-Fire Monitoring Group]. NAPA observed that the failure of the United Nations to send peace monitoring troops to Liberia is responsible for the current escalation of the Liberian crisis, despite appeals made to the world body by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. NAPA expressed dismay over United Nations' continued reluctance to send peace observers to Liberia, especially at a time when ECOMOG is carrying out systematic bombing raids on civilian targets, including hospitals, leading to the massacre of hundreds of people.

The NAPA statement, issued Wednesday [18 November], said current bombing raids on civilian targets has exposed ECOMOG's partisan role in the Liberian crisis. The statement cited a replacement of ECOMOG by UN peace monitoring observers and the removal of the illegitimate interim government from Monrovia as the only solution to finding a last political settlement to the Liberian crisis. The NAPA statement then called on the American president-elect, Mr. Bill Clinton, to support the sending of UN peace observers to Liberia and end the current crisis in the country.

Meanwhile, NAPA is appealing to the United Nations, the Catholic Relief Services, the Lutheran War Service, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and other organizations to step up their relief activities in the country.

Nigeria

President Babangida Address 17 Nov

AB1811181592 Lagos NTA Television Network
in English 2022 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Speech by President Ibrahim Babangida on 17 October; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Fellow Nigerians, the decision of the Armed Forces Ruling Council [AFRC] to cancel the results of the presidential primaries and dissolve the executive committees of the two political parties has raised many questions bordering on the fate of the political transition

program. High on the list of questions is the issue of date for the eventual end of the military participation in the governance of our great country and the restoration of full democratic, civilian rule in Nigeria.

The commitment of this administration to January 2 1993 as the date of handing over to an elected president is one which this administration has pursued diligently and will want to keep. Specifically, it is a date which members of the Armed Forces and I are committed to for the handing over of power to an elected president, and the machinery of handing over as set out in the decree is well documented and had been put in place. Indeed, this is evidenced by handing over notes recently submitted by the ministers, with the terminal date of January 2 1993 in mind.

Fellow Nigerians, it is now no longer news that the events which preceded the AFRC [passage indistinct] the full stage of the transition program and join other democratic nations around the world. These dilemmas and problems remained the single most critical issue of governance, namely credibility.

Fellow citizens, let us reflect a while on the crises we have had to face since 1985. All I need to do is to remind you of the many attempts to cut short the life of this administration by those whose stock in trade is to preach fear in place of hope, division in place of community, and denial in place of responsibility. It was in the pursuit of this that this administration has had to cope with two attempted coups d'etat, one which, but for Allah's protection, could have taken many lives [passage indistinct] engineered and orchestrated by those who have no faith in the transition program and in the democratic process. The structural adjustment program riots are still fresh in our memories. Seditious publications were made against this administration and its key actors with a view to inciting the public against us.

Certainly, the foregoing crises were moments that tried men (?sore). But we are fully resolved that we cannot abandon our duties and surrender to the enemies of this country whose main objective is to plunge our country into the abyss of darkness. I want to assure you that this administration will not stay a day longer than it is necessary. We will strive to see the nation out of this vicious circle of despair, fear, and despondency.

Our country deserves the best, and we will not abandon you unless we are able to install or guarantee the installation of a stable democratic order. We need a government that fights for our people and, certainly, not a government that fights and cheats our people. We want to install a government that will get to office through free and fair elections, and not through fraud and deceit. To these, we are committed. We shall not relent.

All these constitute our real agenda. Our agenda was never, and it is still not hidden, except in the minds of those who doubt our resolve. To those who are threatening fire and brimstone, to those who are sowing fears instead of hope in our people, to those who are preaching

division instead of community in the name of hidden agenda in the transition program, let me remind you that threats are not the best way to bequeath to our people a stable Nigeria, or a stable democratic order.

For those who would be coming into the arena, anti-democratic behavior should be done away with. I can raise a few of these behavioral traits as examples. All presidential aspirants were extremely distrustful of one another to the extent that they were unable to engage in politics of moderation, accommodation, and consensus building. The committee of aspirants only knew those they do not want, but had no idea of who they want except their individual selves. It should also be noted that the former aspirants imbibed the worst culture of the Nigerian political class that feels and sees any election as the last election which must be contested, fought, and won at all cost.

The explanation for the foregoing pathologies can be sought in the heavy financial investment committed to enhance the view of political contest as a do or die battle. The presidency should not be for sale and Nigeria cannot be bought at the expense of Nigeria and Nigerians. This administration is determined to prevent this and calls for the cooperation of Nigerians to shun and reject those who want to buy them and lord it over them.

Those who raise the question about periodic intervention in the transition program are not aware of the philosophy and logic implicit in the transition program. The logic of the transition program has in-built learning process that makes room for making critical assessment of the immediate past events and instituting correct measures where necessary for the greater good of the nation. For example, in presenting the transition program to the nation in 1987, I emphasized then that the transition program is not a handover program of the 1970's experience, but a broadly based transition in which democratic government can proceed with political learning, institutional adjustment, and a reorientation of political culture at sequential levels of politics and governance, beginning with the local governments and ending at the federal level. May I also reecho to our countrymen and women this administration's reactions to very immediate and distant past, which I summarized also in my address to the nation, this I quote: From our past experience, our political program must be gradual, purposeful, and effective. It must aim at laying the basic foundation of a new social political order. We must create a new set of values, a new set of political attitudes, a political culture aimed at ushering in a new social order.

To those who care to read our pronouncement from 1985 to date, will appreciate our resolve to keep strictly to these unflinching commitments. [sentence as heard] We have not departed, and shall not depart from this path. For those who believe that we have no agenda, I advise them to go back to my statement when introducing the political program: my charge to the Political

Bureau; my charge to the Constitution Review Committee; my charge to the Constituent Assembly; and, finally, my address to the nation while accepting the Constitution. All these statements, when (put) together, represent the complete rendition of our agenda.

No one is born a democrat. For democracy evolves through a culture of learning and practice, and we must imbibe this culture for democracy to flourish in Nigeria. The Armed Forces of Nigeria has a responsibility to complete the process of filling the second elective arm, the Presidency of the Federal Government, by ensuring that a machinery for it is put in place within the shortest possible time, now that the first elective arm—the National Assembly—is already elected and will be inaugurated.

Fellow countrymen and women, let me crave your indulgence to state once more that the Armed Forces will not stay a day longer than it is absolutely necessary to accomplish this task. We are already seeing the light at the end of tunnel, and we will soon get to the end.

At this appoint, it may be necessary to tarry a while and assess what we have gone through so far, in order to put things in their right perspective. This administration has kept faith in democratizing almost all levels of government: On 12 December 1987, local government elections were conducted successfully on nonparty basis; while on December 8 1990, local government elections were held again throughout the nation, but now on party basis, without any major hitches. Further, with the creation of additional 136 new local government areas in September 1991, another set of local government elections were quickly held on November 23 1991 to democratize the councils of the newly created local government areas.

In the same vein, on December 4, 1991, elections were successfully conducted to democratize the second tier of government, that is: the State Houses of Assembly and the state executives, including those of the nine new states which were created in August 1991. Thereafter, and in order to ensure speedy conclusion of our democratization process at the national level and also to give the National Assembly its due prominence, election into the National Assembly which was initially scheduled for November 7, 1992, was brought forward to July 4, 1992, and this was successfully concluded.

Fellow citizens, in all these and in the face of several odds, this administration has kept faith with the goals of the transition process, and it is worthy of note that the National Electoral Commission [NEC] did us all proud by conducting successful elections, whatever the odds. However, in order to conclude the last lap of our democratization process—the presidency—it required the two political parties—the NRC [National Republican Convention] and the SDP [Social Democratic Party]—to use their internal party machineries to elect and present to the NEC one presidential candidate per party in order to enable the commission to conduct a presidential election. History will bear us out that the present political impasse in which this country has found

itself at the moment is caused by the inability of the two political parties to conduct successfully their internal selection process of producing presidential candidates acceptable to the generality of Nigerians.

In this, it is, indeed, very sad to note that all the key actors involved in the internal selection process, namely the aspirants and the party executives at all levels, could not play the game according to the rules that guide their democratic process. It is now history that they attempted the process on two occasions—first, on August 1, 1992, and secondly on September 12, 19, and 26, and failed woefully on each occasion.

Indeed, on the first occasion, which then had six groups of election, with the first group being of August 1 1992, the process had to be stopped at the end of first group of elections. On the second occasion, which had three groups of elections, the actors were given the benefit of going through the full [word indistinct] of the three groups of elections on September 12, 19, and 26 1992, in order to enable the nation to have a complete view and assessment of what these actors are capable of unleashing to the nation.

As this administration had undertaken the onerous task of instituting a stable Third Republic, it was clear that some decisive action had to be taken in order to remedy the situation. This gave rise to my address to the nation on 16 October 1992, after the meeting of the AFRC on the matter, which involved a cancellation of the botched primaries, the dissolution of the all the party executives at all levels, and a directive given to the NEC to recommend to the AFRC a nonconventional and trouble-free method of selecting presidential candidates.

With the decision to cancel the presidential primaries and dissolve the executive committees of the two parties, we have two crucial problems which we must resolve now. These are: first, the problem of ensuring that the presidential candidates of the two parties emerge through consensus and, second, that the machinery for the reconstitution of dissolved organs of the two parties are put in place. Our priority now, must be the election of the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in order that the handing over process can be concluded and the transition brought to an end without undue delay.

The AFRC appreciates the responses of Nigerians to its decisions on the botched primaries. In the aftermath of the AFRC's decision, there has resurrected a number of advocates of alternatives to the transition program, among which the call for a sovereign national conference. The proponents of a sovereign national conference want to discuss matters which are popularly referred to as the national question. Perhaps, it should be pointed out that these issues had been on the agenda for a national discourse since 1960, and was reopened with the setting up of the Political Bureau in 1986. This is the preoccupation of our elite who had the opportunity in

1986 and 1987, used it, but now want to copy the model of democratization used elsewhere. Can't we be original?

I think our elite should go back to the proceedings of the Political Bureau. What this administration finds disappointing is that there was sufficient opportunity during the political debate organized by the Political Bureau for current advocates of national conference to articulate their viewpoints on the national question.

Who did they represent then when they spoke to the Political Bureau through their associations and individually? We should appreciate that it was the Political Bureau report which formed the basis of the political transition program which this administration has been implementing faithfully and meticulously. We would also appreciate the fact that the African countries that commenced and are still commencing their democratization process via the national conference did not have the advantage of our experience.

Those who have doubts as to how certain decisions about our political life were arrived at are advised to go back to the archives. We should all revisit the issues that were openly conversed during the political debate and during discussions and seminars and workshops organized by and collated by the Political Bureau. I call on all Nigerians to return to the value bases of our Constitution by examining how many decisions of a political order were arrived at.

Specifically, our people must seek to understand the rationale behind the choice of presidential system of government as a response to the crises which bedeviled the split executive of the First Republic. We need also to understand the rationale behind the decision to opt for a federal system of government as far back as 1914, as distinct from the unitary system of government, which our people were vehement in rejecting in 1966. There is a further need to understand the rationale behind our decision to create more states and more local government areas. We did not only make states and local government units of representations, but also endowed them with sufficient power and resources to meet the needs of our people. We need, in addition, to understand why Nigerian founding fathers decided against the adoption of any religion as a state religion.

As an administration, we have been working hard to ensure that the fundamental human rights provisions in the Constitution are adhered to. There are certain facts of our political life which must be told. Let us take the monumental program of balancing the federal system and of bringing the common man to the centerpiece of our government as a way of setting a tone for our successor. When this administration came to power, the quest for justice and the need for a balanced federal system continued and had to be faced, and for all, through the [word indistinct] policy of creating 11 additional states and more local government areas.

What do we have today? We now have a system of 30 states and 589 local government areas, and four area

councils of the Federal Capital Territory. You will agree that this is one of the boldest attempts in history. We have now reached a stage in our country where all ethnic groups can now boast of a home, state, local government, or even ward, which they can call their own and which they can use as a launching pad in the politics of national leadership. States and local government areas, and not ethnic or religious group, can then constitute the correct units of representation and the proper reflection of the principles of federal character.

The view of this administration is that there is no state that does not have a favorite son or daughter to join other favorite sons and daughters to constitute a pool of state sons and daughters from which consensual visionary leaders can emerge. It is our inability to work out modalities for selecting visionary national leaders that constituted sources of crises of leadership selection in the past. We shall all do this time with minimal problems. We only need some time and we will succeed.

Fellow Nigerians, as a people, let us have faith in ourselves. Let us have faith in our capacity to improve on this irreducible minimum basis for a stable political order. We cannot go back on our presidential system. We cannot go back on our federal system. We must still adhere strongly to the principles of the nonadoption of any religion as the state religion, the protection of the fundamental human rights and the adoption of representative democracy. On these values, we must remain committed as a people.

As an administration, we have always held the position that the presidential candidature, or any other elective office in our country, cannot be decided on the basis of rotation. Therefore, to argue that it is the turn of any group defined in geopolitical, ethnic, or religious terms is antidemocratic, because such a process is not open to all Nigerians, irrespective of their geopolitical, ethnic, or religious affiliations.

In any case, political sense dictates that anyone who wants to be president of Nigeria must take into account all these factors. Since our parties are not organized on any of these grounds, parties must be free to (?process their tickets) with an eye on their ability to win and provide leadership for Nigeria's plural society. This is the first condition that will govern the nomination of candidates this time around. Candidates for the coveted office should have national attributes which all states will accept.

I will have to return to the concept of visionary leadership first propounded during my address to the Constituent Assembly. We have been making allusion to the need for certain attributes of a visionary leader that can only grow out of the grassroots. I have had to make reference to the need for a visionary leader to see us through out of the political woods.

You will recall my to the Constituent Assembly in 1987 that our (?fate) today is to conscientiously create a

situation that can generate succession of visionary political leadership at all levels of our political life, more especially at the federal or national level, over a given period of time. I was very conscious then of the need to move beyond mobilization of leadership and search for additional ingredients to aid [the] transformational process which Nigeria badly needs. I had requested from the Constituent Assembly to devise measures capable of generating leadership that can readily transform vision into action. [sentence as heard] I was conscious then of the fact that we want leaders that can ensure always a collective image of the better future of our country.

I still believe now, as then, that a visionary realist is what we should be looking for to lead this country. One that appreciates the realistic constraints before him. If the constitution makers fail to guarantee a prescriptive model of leadership, as I had requested in my charge of the Constituent Assembly, this time around, the mechanism of realizing a visionary realist will be set in motion for selecting presidential candidates. In furtherance of this, government feels that the acknowledged unit of representation in the federal system—which is the state—should be used as a moderating factor in the nomination of presidential candidates.

This administration will take advantage of one of the options identified by the NEC, whereby the process of nomination of presidential candidates shall commence from states. The rationale behind this decision is that each state, being a unit of representation, should be allowed or encouraged to nominate its flag bearer in the tradition of favorite sons or favorite daughters to compete with other candidates from other states of the coveted party's national standard flag bearer. This will give each component part of the federation a sense of belonging and, thereby, facilitate national unity.

The AFRC considered the options proposed by NEC and other reports by a committee of the Armed Forces on transition and settled on Option A-4 of the NEC report which gives every state the rarest opportunity to compete in the national leadership selection. In this option, the ward, the local government, and special delegate state congresses shall be involved in selecting in the first instance the state flag bearers of the party from among competing sons and daughters of the state.

Thus, for each party, it is anticipated that there shall be up to 31 state flag bearers, with one from each of the 30 states and one from the Federal Capital. Thereafter, a special delegate national convention of each party shall convene to elect the national flag bearer from among the 31 state flag bearers through the use of two rounds of balloting. Every state should therefore endeavor to have its own flag bearer to compete with other flag bearers from other states for the party's national flag bearer in a national convention.

This method is cheap for candidates who will not be expected to spend much money on photographs, or

employ canvassers, or agents, or engage political advertisement companies. This process does not subject the actors—voters and candidates alike—to a business relationship because there is a community value introduced in the process. Government feels that each party should be encouraged to publicize the criteria that (?form) its decision to select the state flag bearer.

What is important here is that since each state is aware that two candidates have to be thrown up in a state for the two parties, the two parties will necessarily have to work hard to seek the candidates that possess the appreciable community value, who can compete with others from the other states at the national level. It is our view that the highest bidder money-wise will not necessarily be the sole criterion, but the highest bidder, quality-wise, will be. The state congress of each party will be up to a serious job, picking the candidates with the highest quality from the states.

The AFRC also reviewed the bane of elections in Nigeria and how to secure acceptability of results. The AFRC considered all the options and strongly believes that the results of the Option A-4 are most likely to elicit and command acceptability from all Nigerians, especially from those who lose and from backers of losers.

We want to do everything to avoid or minimize the situation where candidates reject the result of an election and, thereby, pose a threat to the survival of the Third Republic. This is the rationale for the choice of option A-4 which gives every state equal opportunity of producing the national flag bearer of each party and allows the candidate to be present at the voting venues to watch the proceeding.

We acknowledge the level of dedication of the voters of this exercise and the National Electoral Commission is directed to use the modified system of open ballot which is open and at the same time protects the individual voter from being intimidated. Whatever happens at this level may be carried over to the presidential election proper.

Nothing should be done to deny the parties the primary function of nominating candidates for an elective office. Those who are proposing a general election, which may possibly involve up to 40 candidates or more, are planning to run as independents. We have passed this stage. Our Constitution has no provision for independent candidates. We cannot have it now through the back door.

We now have two political parties, which from our records of voting in the previous elections and membership disposition, cut across geopolitical, ethnic and religious, or even class affiliations. Political parties are the cornerstone of competitive electoral process. Those who seek office should do so through the parties and have their credentials validated by party members [words indistinct] by the machinery of the two political parties.

Fellow countrymen and women, believe me when I say that the two days on our transitional schedule which haunt me personally and my colleagues, and fellow patriots are December 5 1992, for presidential election and January 2 1993, for formally handing over date. We are haunted more by January 2 1993 than by December 5, 1992 [break in audio transmission] first, that this administration wants to be remembered as one which had the rarest opportunity to serve our country and handed over the reins of government in an orderly fashion to an elected visionary president.

More importantly, we want to be remembered as those who left behind a stable democratic order where no one is suppressed, where everyone and every group is guaranteed the freedom to aspire to any political post in the land.

Fellow citizens, I want, therefore, to ask for your help, understanding, patience, and cooperation in achieving these lofty goals by adopting Option A-4 of the recommendations of the NEC. The AFRC considered the process outlined in the related activities that should be tackled before successful and stable handing over can be accomplished, and hereby directs that the NEC should lead the caretaker committee of the two parties to ensure that the ward organs of the two political parties are properly constituted.

We recognize that the ward is where votes and the voters are and that the ward is the bastion of grassroots democracy. The ward is the basic organ of organization of the political parties. The constitutions of the two parties emphasize the strategic importance of the ward. The NEC should, therefore, call on the new caretaker committee to proceed immediately to calling ward meetings and ensuring that proper records of these meetings are kept, indicating the members name and addresses, etc., against old records. Certainly, the regular meeting of this kind called three or four times would enable the caretaker committees to clean the membership list and make it ready to be used to commence the process of constituting the organs of the party according to the party constitution.

Government is concerned that the longer the caretaker committee stays at the helm of affairs of the parties, the likelihood it is that parties will be losing excitement for their adherence. Government, therefore, directs that the NEC should ensure that caretaker committees conclude their work speedily and return the management of the parties to the elected executives at all levels soonest.

The AFRC hereby directs as follows: Cleaning of membership lists leading to the process of constituting the organs of the parties [at] ward and local government areas, should be concluded soon. But the state congresses of the parties shall hold for the purpose of election of state flag bearers and election of officers of the state branch of the party. The national convention of the two parties should hold thereafter to do two things—election

of presidential candidates for the two parties and election of national officers of the two parties. We expect that the process of presidential campaign should last for two months before the presidential elections. Having considered the necessary political activities that must take place before the presidential elections, with the shortest possible time frame assigned to each of these activities, the AFRC has slated the presidential elections for 12 June 1993, with the swearing-in date of the new president which shall be on the 27th of August 1993.

The government strongly believes that members of [word indistinct] societies other than the political parties should participate in the process leading to the election of a president. Government hereby directs that the Center for Democratic Studies to put together, train and ordinate a group to monitor the presidential elections. The group should consist of representatives of professional groups, labor unions, business organizations, and human rights organizations.

Meanwhile, the following changes are introduced into administration of the federal military Government, within the remaining period of transition: The AFRC, as constituted at present, will cease to exist on 2nd January 1993 and in its place, a new body established, namely, National Defense and Security Council, which shall perform such functions as prescribed for the National Defense Council and National Security Council in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for the remaining period of transition. However, at the end of the transition period, the body will cease to function and the National Defense Council as well as the National Security Council shall be constituted and function separately as stipulated in our Constitution. Some legislative functions hitherto performed by the AFRC will then revert to the National Assembly.

In order to facilitate a speedy and smooth changeover from the military to fully democratized civilian rule, the present Council of Ministers will be dissolved on January 2 1993 and in its place a Transitional Council, which shall consist of a chairman and some prominent Nigerians, shall be established. The function of the Transitional Council shall include the completion of projects already commenced by this administration and ensuring smooth handing over process from the present administration to the incoming one. The handing over notes recently submitted by the ministers shall form the basis of operations of the members of the Transitional Council. The chairman and members of the Transitional Council shall be men of integrity who are committed to the unity and stability of this nation and shall be nonpartisan. They shall not be involved in political activities throughout the transition period and shall not hold any political appointment of the in-coming civilian administration, for a period of 12 months from the end of transition. The chairman of the Transitional Council shall be a civilian who shall preside over the meetings of the Transitional Council and whose powers and functions shall include the following:

Some of the powers as may be delegated to him by a decree or order published in the Federal Government Gazette;

Presenting to the president with his recommendations in form of memoranda all matters requiring the decision or approval of the president;

Routine supervision of members, departments, and parastatals.

He shall be in attendance in the Council of State and the National Defense and Security Council where the president is the chairman. He shall also be the chairman of the Revenue Mobilization, Allocation, and Fiscal Commission.

The National Assembly shall be inaugurated in December 5, 1992, in preparation to assuming some of its legislative functions on January 2, 1993. The National Assembly members-elect are quite knowledgeable about where we are coming from and where we are today, having gone through the policy briefing, legislative training workshops, and a study tour of the country, organized by the Center for Democratic Studies.

I am confident that they are now poised to chart a better course for our country. The National Assembly should now be charged with its legitimate functions. There can be no better national forum for discussing the current issues of our national life than the assembly to which all parts of this country are represented. All those calling for a national conference should be humble enough to direct their questions to their distinguished senators and honorable members on matters they feel so strongly about. I call on all national and patriotic citizens to revere our existing institutions and use them to deal with our national problems. Let me assure them that the National Assembly can schedule these matters and handle them to their satisfaction. The Center for Democratic Studies is, hereby, further directed to come up with a draft standing order for the approval of the National Assembly to enable it to adopt full-scale committee system in its operation, as distinct from the hand over of the Westminster model of the First Republic and which was unwittingly carried over to the Second Republic. With the operation of the full-blown committee system, the two houses would be begin to settle down to work as a full-fledged law-making body and not merely to serve as a debating club for passing resolutions—a practice now obtaining in some state houses of assembly. During this period of transition, the committee system of doing business should form the basis of the operation of the National Assembly. From the reports of the NEC and the security agencies as well as the observations and opinions of the generality of Nigerians on the canceled primaries of August and September 1992, the AFRC is convinced that all the 23 ex-presidential aspirants who participated in the primaries have both individually and severally violated provisions of the Presidential Primary Elections Decree No. 37 of 1992, particularly Sections 21, 22, and 23 of that decree. These actions of the aspirants have had

the grave consequences of undermining, forestalling, distorting, and prejudicing the realization of the transition program within the stipulated time. Consequent upon this and in exercise with the powers conferred upon it under Section 7 of the Transition to Civil Rule Political Program Decree No. 19 of 1987, the Federal Military Government hereby disqualifies all the 23 presidential aspirants of both the and the SDP who took part in the canceled primaries from participating in politics and elections during the remaining period of the transition program.

They should see this action as one election lost and accept same with equanimity. It is hoped that this will serve as a lesson to future aspirants.

In conclusion, let me reiterate, that the most critical challenge facing the transition to civil rule program is not so much with what is to be done as how it is to be done. Nigerians to the last man and woman agree and accept as settled that the need for a durable Third Republic cannot not be overemphasized.

With previous vehement disagreement and considerable disquiet is precisely how a durable civilian Third Republic is to be attained. Over this single most important question of our political evolution. I must say a thousand flowers have blossomed. Let me submit quite clearly that no single individual or organization in this country is more concerned with this problem that members of this administration.

We want to go down in history as having staked our credibility on a viable and democratically workable Third Republic. We know that our place in history—that is our tomorrow—is inextricably bound up with this overwhelming problems. Having come this far, we must not now bequeath chaos to our people and leave the nation in disarray.

As for credibility, sincerity, and good conscience let it be known that neither I nor my colleagues cherish or harbor any hidden agenda. An agenda? I and my colleagues do have, however, and that is to put in place a thoroughgoing, resilient, and viable political arrangement for the Third Republic.

This is certainly in sight now and we will soon complete this last stage in this transition program. Once again, let me reiterate that the credibility we seek is not a flattery and pandering type, not the type which wins applause in the present and loses face and value in the future, not the type that will bring us again to the brink of collapse and precipitate another intervention in the order of governance of our great country.

Rather we seek and ensuring credibility what will be born out of stable and durable Third Republic. That shall forever remain our goal, and we need your support. Thank you and God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Sierra Leone

Foday Sankoh Claims Rebels Bombed by ECOMOG*AB1911195992 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 19 Nov 92*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It would seem that Foday Sankoh's rebels in Sierra Leone are having a rough time of it at the moment: The Army claims to be regaining control of Kono District; there have been claims that Sankoh's soldiers and supporters are disobeying him; and his alleged ally and supporter in neighboring Liberia, Charles Taylor, is under increasing pressure from raids by the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] force. And now Foday Sankoh has called us up to complain that ECOMOG is bombing his locations too. Josephine Hazeley asked him first where he was calling from:

[Begin recording] [Sankoh] I am from Koidu war front. Koidu, that is Kono war front.

[Hazeley] Have you not been driven back from Koidu as far as we understand it?

[Sankoh] You see, I am in Koidu with my troops. We shelled the town, in fact, to captured [as heard] about six villages. Now we are right in Koidu, fighting the government forces, but we are being bombard [as heard] by Nigerian planes, and a week ago they attacked my headquarters—that is Kailahun area—and even the other front around Kwiva. They attacked my troops, and this is becoming unbearable. I consider this to be an aggression against the people of Sierra Leone by Nigeria airplanes.

[Hazeley] But, I mean, what evidence have you that Nigeria has been bombing these areas you have noted, because as I understand it the Sierra Leone Government says they have driven you out of these areas, these towns and villages?

[Sankoh] These are Nigerian planes. ECOMOG planes are bombing our front line, and for a matter of interest and to say the truth I have with me Michael Onil, the Red Cross coordinator for Sierra Leone Red Cross. He is with me, and other citizens who happen to be on my side.

[Hazeley] Hold on a minute. What evidence can you provide us to show that Nigeria has been bombing the areas you say you control?

[Sankoh] Oh, according to their colors. Yes, according to their colors you actually know that these are ECOMOG planes, and they are flying from Guinea as well as Sierra Leone.

[Hazeley] So are you willing to release Mr. Onil and the other people that are with you?

[Sankoh] It is not matter of release. He is free to go. He is not under captive [sentence as heard]. How can I release a man who is not under captive? How can go at any time or when he likes to go. Or if he can be collected by the United Nations or Sierra Leone Red Cross, that is open. I have no objection to that.

[Hazeley] You know, we also receiving reports that some of the people escaping from your ranks are claiming that there is a lot of confusion in the RUF [Revolutionary United Front].

[Sankoh] That is lies. No confusion. The RUF is well organized liberation movement, and the armed wing is disciplined. Even civilians are well taken care of. We have a code of conduct that no raping, no molestation, no harassment of civilians....

[Hazeley, interrupting] But you are not in control of them, are you? You are not in control of your men any more. They are all fleeing.

[Sankoh] All is lies. Look, Hazeley, it is better you people send somebody to come and see what is happening in the liberated zones. All is lies. My soldiers are well taken care of. In fact, the people are taking care of the soldiers. These are their sons and daughters fighting for their freedom. [Words indistinct] is up. Could you believe such lies?

[Hazeley] So you are the only one who is speaking the truth, and everybody else is lying?

[Sankoh] I am saying the truth, and I always say the truth because it is the truth. [end recording]

Togo

Koffigoh on Appointment of Judges*AB2011063492 Lome Radio Lome in French 1900
GMT 19 Nov 92*

[Statement by Prime Minister Kokou Koffigoh, issued in Lome on 19 November]

[Text] In a letter dated 16 November, the president of the Republic and head of state notified the prime minister of a proposal for the appointment by decree, passed in Cabinet, of judges who would, according to the state, form the Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court. He (?evoked), on the one hand, the Law of 30 March 1981 which provided for such a Constitutional Chamber and, on the other, Article 34, paragraph 5, of the Amendment Act No. 7 of the Sovereign National Conference.

Since the content of the head of state's letter was published in the official media, the prime minister is compelled to clarify the following points, which basically summarize the answer addressed this day to the president of the Republic:

1. Paragraph 5 of Article 34 of the Amendment Act No. 7 of the Sovereign National Conference does not exist;

2. The Law of 30 March 1981 which provides for a Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court has never been enforced under the party state system as acknowledged by the president of the Republic himself. However, the Constitution—approved by referendum on 27 September 1992 and promulgated on 14 October—is crystal clear on the role of the Supreme Court, particularly in Article 154 which reads as follows: The duties of the Constitutional Chamber under the present Constitution shall be performed by the Supreme Court until the Constitutional Court is put in place. This is therefore a provisional clause on the functions which will later be performed by the Constitutional Court;

3. In the event of a conflict between a law and a constitution, the constitutional provisions take precedence over the law because the Constitution is voted by the sovereign people;

4. No man can be an advocate in his own case. Persons in a dispute are therefore not entitled to choose, especially once a dispute arises, those who should sit on the case.

Lome, 19 November 1992.

Report on Status of Strike 19 Nov

AB1911165692 Lome Radio Lome in French 1230
GMT 19 Nov 92

[Text] For four days now, activities have been disrupted in Lome following the strike order launched by the Collective of Democratic Opposition II. However, today, like yesterday, activities resumed in some fields such as urban transport with more and more buses circulating along with more taxis. In the administrative

sector, some civil servants reported for duty. In the economic sector, the big market, banks, and other financial institutions remained closed. But some activities resumed at various suburban markets.

In the interior of the country, the strike is diffidently observed and sometimes even rejected.

Ministers Note Resumption of Economic Activity

AB1711140392 Lome Radio Lome in French 1230
GMT 17 Nov 92

[Joint communique issued by the minister of defense and the minister of territorial administration and security in Lome on 17 November]

[Text] Today, the minister of defense and the minister of territorial administration and security toured the city of Lome and noticed a clear resumption of economic activity in the capital. Consequently, they thank all members of the society who placed confidence in the security arrangements put in place. They urge all others who are still reluctant to resume their normal business to do so, because it is only by conscientious work and not by strikes that we can solve the serious economic problems that are dangerously threatening the country's future.

In regard to the political problems, their solution necessarily calls for dialogue. It behooves the political actors who love their country to opt for ways of dialogue and consultation and to actually implement the relevant solutions based on consensus.

Signed: Inoussa Bouraima, [minister of defense], and Agbeyome Kodjo, [minister of territorial administration and security].

END OF

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DATE FILMED

23 Nov 1992

